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ABSTRACT

Issues pertinent to white presence at black colleges are addressed in 11 papers. The following topics are addressed: administrative and geographic factors involved in the recruitment of white students; attitudes and perceptions of black and white students relative to the incursion of minority students on campus; a study of the characteristics of the white teacher on the black campus; and a study of adaptive behavior made by young white children in minority situations. Authors and titles include: "The White Student in Five Predominantly Black Universities" (Charles I. Brown, Phyllis R. Stein); "Two Sides of the Coin: White Students in Black Institutions" (Ada M. Elam); "Beliefs of White Students Concerning Housing and Student Activities in Selected Black Institutions of Higher Education" (Ida Stevens); "Recruiting the Minority Student for Black Campuses" (William H. Parker); "More White Students Are Enrolling in the South's Public Black Institutions" ("Regional Action" editorial); "Integration at Alcorn State University: A Problem of Locational Liability" (Vinton M. Prince, Jr.); "Probable Effects of HEW's Proportional Enrollment Directive" (Charles I. Brown, Moses S. Walker); "The College Environment as Perceived by Black and White Students at Selected Institutions of Higher Education in the State of Alabama" (John Baker, Jr.); "A Study of White Teachers in Selected Negro Colleges" (Paul M. Decker); and "When the Group Takes Over: Patterns of Adaptation by White Children to Minority Social and Academic Status" (Barbara Libarkin). (SW)

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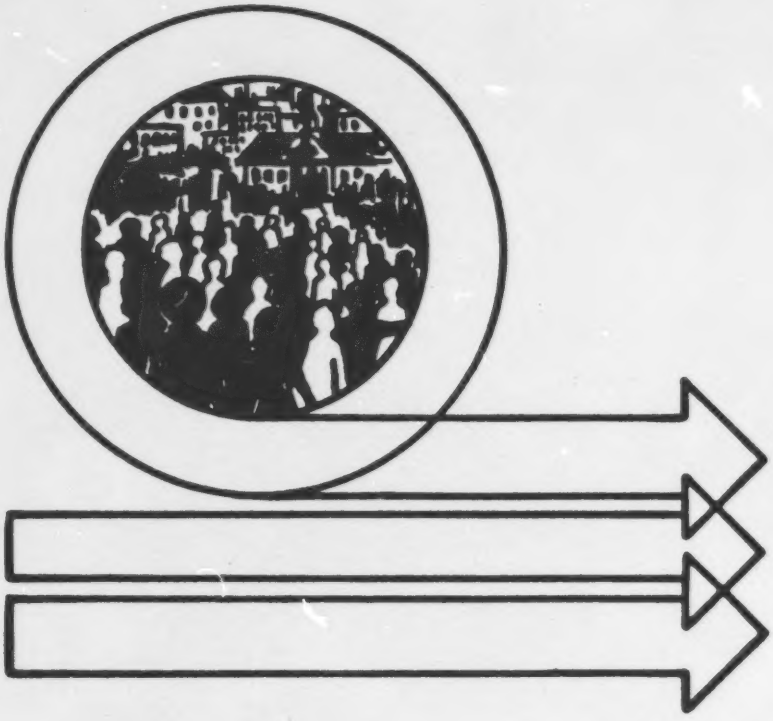

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The White Student On The Black Campus: An Anthology Of Essays And Studies

HE 015 652

INSTITUTE OF DESEGREGATION
OFFICE OF RESEARCH, EVALUATION AND PLANNING
NORTH CAROLINA CENTRAL UNIVERSITY
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This paper has been identified by a joint project of The Institute on Desegregation at North Carolina Central University and ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education at George Washington University. The purposes of this project are to identify, collect, and make available literature concerned with

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(2) the problems of desegregation in historically black colleges and universities in particular.

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1979 - A Comparative Analysis of the Perceptions of Black and White Students of Their Campus Environments at North Carolina Central University and The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, by Linda K. Pratt, Donald J. Reichard, and Norman P. Uhl.

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1979 - A Comparative Analysis of Race-Related Characteristics of Black and White Carolina Librarians, by Benjamin F. Speller, Jr. and Jeff E. Smith.

1979 - The White Student on the Black Campus: An Anthology of Essays and Studies.

THE WHITE STUDENT ON THE BLACK CAMPUS:

AN ANTHOLOGY OF ESSAYS AND STUDIES

CHARLES I. BROWN
Editor

ID MONOGRAPH NO. 79 -

INSTITUTE ON DESEGREGATION
OFFICE OF RESEARCH, EVALUATION AND PLANNING
NORTH CAROLINA CENTRAL UNIVERSITY
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Articles by Brown have appeared in such journals as the Clearing House, Improving College and University Teaching, Journal of Negro Education, The National Elementary Principal, The Negro Educational Review, and The Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes. He has also served as the editor of Undergraduate Student Studies In Education since 1972 and as the editor of the North Carolina Association for Institutional Research Proceedings since 1973. His publications in consonance with the theme of this anthology are "The White Student in Five Predominantly Black Universities" (1972), The White Student Enrolled in the Traditionally Public Black College and University (1973), "Probable Effects of HEW's Proportional Enrollment Directive" (1976), and The White Presence on the Black Campus (1978).

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Drawing on his experience and background as a counselor for minority students Dr. Parker's publications include "Pitfalls Encountered with Foreign Students," Admission of Foreign Students from the Far East and Pacific Islands," and "Recruiting the Minority Student."

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PAUL M. DECKER is Professor of Psychology and Director of Institutional Research at Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida. A 1954 graduate of Bethune-Cookman College, the first white to do so, Decker subsequently received the master's degree from Stetson University and a doctorate in Psychology and Guidance from Colorado State College. In addition to his responsibilities at Bethune-Cookman, a relationship that has continued since 1954, the multi-talented professor was for a time in private practice as a psychologist, is a former director of the Florida Vocational Research Institute, and industrial efficiency engineer, businessman, and professional musician. Among his serveral publications, Dr. Decker considers a programmed text in General Psychology to be his most notable contribution. Publications in process includes one about his pet interest in the motivational and mental health problems of the disadvantaged.

BARBARA LIBARKIN graduated from the University of Chicago in 1960 and has worked as a social worker primarily on behalf of children throughout her professional career. Presently working for The Rock Greek Diagnostic Center in Frederick, Maryland, Ms. Libarkin returned to school and received an MSW in 1976 from Catholic University. Her thesis "Interracial Living and the Racial Attitudes of White Children in Grades 3 to 6: The White Child as a Minority in a Black School" has served as the fount for a plethora of articles and reprints in both the national and international press. Among her newspaper publishers have been The Washington Post, The National Observer, The Los Angeles Times and The New York Times. Her most recent journal publication, "Racial Attitudes of Whites in Public and Private Schools, " appeared in the November - December, 1977 issue of Integrateducation. Barbara Libarkin has spent most of her life in racially mixed communities. Her four children attended the schools described in "When the Group Takes Over: Patterns of Adaptation by White Children to Minority Social and Academic Status" one of the inclusions in this anthology.

PREFACE

In continuation of the theme begun in The White Presence the Black Campus: A Bibliography for Researchers, this anthology, be it every so slight, was a whole lot longer coming to fruition than was my original intent. This being so, one of my primary worries now is that I did not succeed in building up too large an expectation for the belated publication of this volume to overcome, as it is my feeling that if given the chance, this anthology, which is comprised of both old and new essays and studies about the white student on the black campus, will prove to be quite rewarding. As one of the primary purposes of this companion-piece to The White Presence on the Black Campus: A Bibliography for Researchers is again to be of some assistance to researchers interested in education in desegregated setting in general and the impact of desegregation as it affects the historically black institutions of higher education in particular. To this end, the parameters of this anthology embraces a portrait of the white student on the black campus; some administrative and geographic factors involved in the recruitment of white students; the attitudes and perceptions of black and white students relative to the incursion of minority students on campus; a characteristics study of the white teacher on the black campus; and a study of adaptive behavior made by young white children in minority situations that will serve them in good stead when they enroll at historically black colleges in late adolescence.

In presentation of the several contributions that comprise this anthology my first inclination was to arrange the articles according to the date of publication of each article; a second idea was to arrange the articles in a manner that would simulate the desegregation and/or integration process from a predisposition of the idea to its fullest implementation; however, the arrangement finally settled upon was to combine the best features of each of the foregoing alternatives and group the articles thematically.

The theme which binds the first three pieces of this anthology together is the characteristics of white students enrolled in historically black colleges and universities. The lead exploration of this theme is a reprint of "The white Student in Five Predominantly Black Universities" by Charles I. Brown and Phyllis R. Stein. This reprinting of the 1972 prototype characteristics study is viewed as being quite a coup as the aforementioned not only was the first to draw a profile of the white student enrolled at five predominantly black universities in North Carolina it also proved definitive enough in its design and the several topics investigated to establish the basis for all other studies of this kind to follow.

Rounding out the presentation of this theme is "The White Student on the Black Campus: a four-page concision by the editors of REGIONAL ACTION of a monograph by Brown of white students enrolled in eighteen predominantly black institutions of higher learning in the 14 state area of the Southern Regional Education Board. The contribution made by this reprint is that it provides a summary of the first national profile of white students in attendance at public tax supported black schools in the SREB area as being generally older than their black counterparts, married, living off-campus, less dependent economically, more tolerant than formally in their racial views, industrious, highly motivated, and pleased with the academic standards and programs of the institution of their choice. A profile that remains substantially

the same today as attested to by Ada M. Elam's "Two Sides of the Coin: White Students in Black Institutions", and by what may be the most thorough-going study relative to housing and co-curricular activities of white students at black institutions by Ida Stevens-Burghardt. Supportive also of the portrait offered by this anthology inclusions is the follow-up 1978 SREB publication by Nancy V. Standley entitled White Students Enrolled in Black Colleges and Universities: Their Attitudes and Perceptions.

In discussion of the second theme, the recruitment of white students, William R. Parker's "Recruiting the Minority Student for Black Campuses:, takes recognition of the fact that the integration of the minority (white) student on the black campus is but part and parcel of the changing socio-economic-political scene in the south and offers a prescription that is long range in its view to administrative officers, et al, at historically black institutions who would choose to make the multi-racial-cultural transition as smoothly and as efficiently as possible. To my mind, Parker's article is all too brief, but even so I could discern no issue involved in the recruitment of white students that has been left untouched in the presentation of his two main ideas which are (1) administrative preparation and planning; and (2) what should be done in a succession of years to implement an aggressive minority student recruitment program. However, it would appear from another concision of a 1976 SREB survey by the editors of REGIONAL ACTION entitled "More White Students Are Enrolling in the South's Public Black Institutions" that advice akin to that offered by Parker is being heeded by at least 21 of the south's public black colleges and universities in the aggressive recruitment of white students and of, even more importantly, putting their campuses in a state of readiness to serve a white student clientele. A posture, that I can not resist the saying, has had an equal salubrious effect on the black-student clientele as well.

In completion of the recruitment of white students' theme, Vinton M. Prince, Jr. in perhaps the anthology's most analytically engaging inclusion examines "Integration at Alcorn State University: A Problem of Locational Liability" and in the doing provides a telling argument as to why Alcorn is victimized by its historical image as The Black College for many Mississippians and rural location in an economically depressed portion of the state will be hardpressed to entice a significant number of white students to its campus in the foreseeable future. Compounding the integration woes of Alcorn, Prince says that even within what might be called Alcorn's 50 and 100 miles recruiting or convenience zones, Alcorn must compete for white students with seven other neighboring public senior colleges, five of which are traditionally white.

The third theme is perceptual and psychological in nature and is carried forward in "Probable Effects of HEW's Proportional Enrollment Directive." In this article by Brown and Moses S. Walker, the authors inquired of white and black students at Fayetteville State University and Methodist College whether they thought the character, mission and outlook of the college they attended would change if the racial composition of the student body adhered more closely to the racial mix of the geographical area in which the institutions were located. Briefly put, the results of the tabulation when analyzed amounted to an overwhelming NO.

In yet another perceptual study, John Baker, Jr. in "The College Environment as Perceived by Black and White Students at Selected Institutions of Higher Education in the State of Alabama" found rather surprisingly that white students on selected black campuses in Alabama perceived campus morale to be higher than did black students on the same campuses; and in a second and equally surprising finding Baker reports that white students on black campuses ranked teaching quality significantly higher than did black on the same campuses.

The fourth theme is developed by Paul M. Decker in "A Study of White Teachers in Selected Negro Colleges." In what may well be the most comprehensive profile drawn to date of the white teacher on the black campus Decker makes an examination of the reasons whites opt to teach at black colleges and the social relationships of white teachers on the black campus.

The concluding theme takes on a somewhat speculative and conjectural nature. In "When the Group Takes Over: Patterns of Adaptation by White Children to Minority and Academic Status", Barbara Libarkin discusses the coping abilities or adaptations of white children to minority status living in one Washington, D. C. census tract and then goes on to suggest that of the children studied those who best modified their behavior patterns consistent with the life style of the majority group would be the students most likely to enroll in a historically black college or university in the future.

In concluding this introductory it is my hope that this volume of essays and studies will stimulate a continuing and more widespread examination of all the ramifications of reverse integration/desegregation on historically black campuses including those dimensions still left untouched, an example being white instructional personnel who opt to teach at historically black colleges and universities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An undertaking of this dimension would have been an impossible task without the rendering of invaluable help and assistance of many another person. In recognition of my indebtedness, I would like to gratefully acknowledge the cooperation of the authors and publishers who granted us permission to use their materials:

CHARLES I. BROWN and PHYLLIS R. STEIN, "The White Student in Five Predominantly Black Universities, "Negro Educational Review, 23 (October, 1972) 148. Reprinted with permission of the author and publisher.

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PAUL M. DECKER, "A Study of White Teachers in Selected Negro Colleges," The Journal of Negro Education. 24:4 (Winter, 1955) 501. Reprinted with permission of the author and publisher.

In conclusion I would like to extend a very special acknowledgement to Ida Stevens-Burghardt, William H. Parker, Vinton M. Prince, Jr., John Baker, Jr., and Barbara Libarkin for the new essays and studies that serve so ably to enhance the richness and utility of this anthology.

THE WHITE STUDENT IN FIVE PREDOMINANTLY BLACK UNIVERSITIES

Charles I. Brown and Phyllis R. Stein

During the past decade, the attention of the nation has been focused, as never before, on the growing enrollment of the black students in predominantly white and black institutions of higher learning,[1] while something less than scant notice has been paid by the most influential of the national media to a concurrent increase of white students enrolled in predominantly black colleges and universities.[2] This assertion is further borne out by a review of the current literature of higher education that bears upon the racially mixed composition of today's college campus progams. A review of this portion of the literature reveals a resevoir of studies replete with titles of investigations of the black student attending predominantly white institutions and of black students enrolled in black institutions.[3] However the imbalance or omission of investigations of the white student enrolled in predominantly black institutions is glaringly obvious.

In partial rectification of this omission, this study focuses on the white student enrollment in predominantly black institutions in an attempt to substitute factual information for conjecture and speculation about this little studied group of white students. The primary concerns of this turn-about-study were to learn about the expectations and experiences of white students as minority students on black campuses. A secondary concern of this inquiry was to determine the need or relevancy of special orientation programs to help speed the adjustment process of white students who chose to attend predominantly black institutions of higher learning.

Procedures

To investigate these concerns, the original purpose of the authors was to study the attitudes and opinions of a sample or cross-section of white students (wherever they might be found) in attendance at the 86 predominantly black senior colleges and universities located in 18 states and the District of Columbia.[4] But as is so often the case, the principal deterant to this ambitious goal was a lack of financing. However, rather than permit the entire project to die aborning, it was decided to limit the student survey to a pilot study of the white students attending the five public supported predominantly black universities of North Carolina. Over and above the limited scope of the study imposed by the financial crunch, a further rationale for restricting the study survey is that North Carolina's five predominantly black senior institutions in the United States. One proof of this assertion is that 90-plus percent of all the undergraduate, graduate and professional school curricular programs at all the other black institutions scattered throughout the several 18 southern and border states and the District of Columbia may also be found at North Carolina's five predominantly black universities.[5]

To implement the pilot study, a 44-item questionnaire for students was designed. The instrument sought to gather data on white students attending predominantly black colleges in the following area of concern: (1) personal background, (2) occupational goals, (3) circumstances pertaining to enrollment, (4) prior contact with blacks, (5) participation in non-academic

activities, (6) candidness of expressions in classroom situations, (7) guidance needs and preferences, and (8) need for special orientation program or activities.

For the most part, items included in the questionnaire were highly structured; however, the respondees were provided with some additional leeway in eleven instances with an "Other" category, while three questions were completely open-ended. Each questionnaire was also accompanied by an introductory statement of purpose explaining the objectives of the study to the student and assuring the anonymity and confidentiality of his responses.

In order to facilitate the distribution and collection of the questionnaires high level administrators at North Carolina's five black institutions, Elizabeth City State University, North Carolina Central University, Fayetteville State University, North Carolina A & T State University, and Winston-Salem State University, were sent copies of the questionnaire and a covering letter which explained the study, solicited their co-operation, and lastly requested them to designate an institutional representative who would coordinate the administration of the questionnaire to a cross-section of white students enrolled on each campus. In response to this request, campus coordinators were selected or appointed on each campus. In turn they mailed back 69 or 53 percent of the 125 questionnaires that comprised the original distribution. A judgment of the returned questionnaires indicates that the interviewed group constitutes a significant miniature (23%) of the total white population attending the five public black institutions in North Carolina with respect to age, sex, classification, and occupational goals, etc. in 1970.

In 1970, the following student enrollment figures were reported to the North Carolina Board of Higher Education: ECSU, 13 white students or 1.3% of a student body of 970; FSU, 33 white students or 2.6% of 1241; NC A & T reported 50 or 1.4% of 3535; NCCU reported 135 or 4.1% of 3340; and WSSU reported 35 or 2.8% of 1241. Totals: 256 white students or 2.4% of 10,327 students attended the five public supported predominantly black universities of North Carolina.

Summary of Findings

A total of 69 usuable questionnaires, or 53% of the distribution, were received by the authors. The responses, after being tallied, were summarized and made into a profile or multi-sectioned table that is not only reflective of the study's several basic areas of concern but is also a reporting technique that will facilitate an easier reading and understanding of the data. The principal findings made by this poll of 23% of the white students who attend North Carolina's five publicly supported predominantly black universities are reported immediately below; the profile which yielded these findings has been placed at the end of this essay.

Personal Characteristics

1. Six of every ten white students attending North Carolina's five tax-supported predominantly black universities in 1970 were women.

2. All of the ages reported by both men and women students ranged from 18 years to 59 years. The white male student is younger by six years than his female counterpart whose mean ages are 25.0 years to 31.4 years respectively.

3-4. Seventy percent of all students were married and 45% of the sample had 1-3 children. More males, 30%, were single than females, 22%.

5-6. The students came from all over, but the largest segment, thirty-two percent, had lived the longest portion of their lives in the southeastern region of the United States and perhaps in partial reflection of this fact 89% resided off-campus. (See Profile Section A).

Classification and Occupational Goals

7. Fifty-seven percent of the students taking part in this study were full-time undergraduates; 8% were graduate students; 17% were special students; the remaining 18% was made up of exchange students.

8. Elementary education chosen by 22% of all students as their major field of study far outdistanced the second most frequently chosen majors of History, 4% and Sociology, 4%.

9. In response to the query concerning the highest degree they hoped to attain, the aspirations of the males and females form almost a perfect inverse relationship; e.i., 30% of the males and 55% of the females aspired for the bachelors degree, 33% of both males and females intended to pursue a masters degree, but while 22% of the males aim for a doctorate degree, only 10% of the women plan to take a doctorate.

10. Thirty-seven percent of the males chose teaching or an education related profession as their occupational goal. Thirty percent indicated law related goals. Typical of the female occupational choices were teaching, 55% and nursing, 23%.

11. As academicians, the white students in these predominantly black institutions are apparently doing quite well. From the cumulative academic averages reported only four and eight percents respectively had averages of 1.50-1.99 and 2.00-2.49; sixteen percent had averages on or in the 2.50-2.99 range; twenty-eight and twenty-three percent had averages of 3.00-3.49 and 3.50-3.99 respectively. (See profile, Section B).

12. Working their way through colleges, 73% of the student's expenses were earned by the students themselves in work-study or work-aid programs or part-time and summer jobs off-campus. Thirty-three percent of their expenses came from scholarships and loans, while personal savings accounted for 25% of the sources of expenses. (See profile, Section C.

Circumstances Pertaining To Enrollment

13-19. Only 4% of the white students attending these five universities enrolled immediately after graduation from high school; 81% had not. The 15% who had not previously attended college had delayed their enrollment to principally discharge military obligations (41% males) or to fulfill marital and maternal obligations (47% female). Of the 44% who were transfer students they had come equally from predominantly white and predominantly black institutions. Fifty-nine percent of all students plan to graduate from the institution presently attended. (See profile, Section D).

Reasons Affecting Attendance and Reservation About Enrollment

20-22. In explaining their reasons for attending the predominantly black institution 60% of all students cited convenience, 57% felt the courses and degrees offered were relevant to their goals and 45% were influenced by the low financial cost of their institution. Interestingly enough, 100% of all students felt reservations concerning their enrollment. The greatest concern among men was of a financial nature (15%). Seventeen percent of the females had academic reservations. While 48% of the females reported social reservations, none of the males indicated this concern.

23. When asked about the current opinion of the black university in which they were enrolled, the opinions held by the white male students of the predominantly black institutions were highly favorable and indicated satisfaction with the quality of both their education and their instructors as well as a high degree of social acceptance. Though not quite as laudatory in their praise, the white female student in general shared much of this same opinion and added that both the academic and social education they were receiving was broadening and beneficial. Only a few females remained concerned about accreditation problems and the relevance.

24. Prior to enrollment, among the males, only friends seemed to have expressed the most negative reservations or opinions. The reservations of the friends of male students ranged from a "few jokes" of a racial nature to "thunderous expressions of outraged horror and mortification. Family, high school officials and church officals were in general

wither indifferent or supportive of the choice they had made. In marked contrast, all groups associated with the females openly expressed many reservations of both social and academic nature. Families of the females indicated a variety of social and academic concerns, and some questioned the capabilities of the marked female to care for family needs and attend school at the same time. The response of the officials of the churches to which the females belonged ranged from "genteel octracism: to "joy". Friends also appeared to have mixed reactions, including both apprehension and encouragement. There was in general a more sombre voicing of protective concern for the safety of the females which was not evident in the male responses.

25. When asked to evaluate the "now" or current opinion held by the various groups, all students noted that save for isolated incidents there was in general a solidifying of a neutral stance or a lean toward more positive reactions. Males felt for the most part that little change had occured, i.e., persons among the family, high school and church officials, and friends who had originally taken attitudes of indifference or support continued as before. On the other hand, among the friends of male students overtly hostile to their attending a black university a grudging approval of the step they had taken had been wrong from one to two. One respondent admitted to partially solving the problem by refusing to discuss the questions when in the company of his "hung-up' friends. Of the several opinions offered by females the bulk may be described as favorable although a few recalcitrant family members clung to their original objections. In one happy instance, the opinion of a church official had radically altered from ostracism to acceptance of the student - a circumstance that, is now cordially extended to the new-found black friends of the student. (See profile, Section E).

Prior Contract With Blacks

26-28. In consonance with the fact that 76% of all students attended high schools were the black enrollment was 10% or less, (only 11% attended schools that had ratios of black stuents ranging from 16 to 99%). Fifty percent described their piror contact with blacks as either non-existent or limited. Forty-five percent described their prior contact with blacks as being extensive; of this number the principal areas of contact for males were school 30%; military service with employment, athletics, and recreational activities providing 58%. For females the principal areas of contact beyond school (48%) were employment, military experience (as wives), and hospital work (26%); community organizations 12% and religious organizations 14%.

Participation in Non-Academic and Classroom Activities

29-31. Forty-two percent of all students had not expected to participate in school related non-academic activities and even though 31% at the time of the query did not participate, a slightly larger 36% did in fact participate on either an occasional (30%) or regular basis (6%).

32-38. When asked whether they sensed a problem in classroom recitation and communication the group polled was fairly split in their response. Ease of expressions in the classroom posed no problem fo 49% of the students

while 48% of the students indicated some degree of discomfort. Fifty percent felt that their black classmates experienced no problems in open and free communication in the classroom while 48% did feel blacks may feel some hesitation. Thirty-three percent of the white students indicated they would feel more comfortable expressing their opinions if they were black. Of those students asked to take Black Studies courses, 14% of the white students felt no reason or resentment at this requirement while 33% did. Forty-one percent felt no guilt in these courses and 39% were not more hesitant about expressing their opinions in these classrooms than in any other classes. Only 25% of all the students polled felt that black students used idiomatic or slang expressions difficult to understand.

Academic and Social Guidance Preferences

39-40. Both males and female indicated that they would seek help from anyone when troubled with an academic or social problem regardless of race. Professors, academic advisors and friends were the chief sources of advice for academic problems, while friends (black 24+21%) were preferred to help with social problems. One male felt that in a social situation, it was easier to withdraw if the problems were racial and one female stated that she did not want to participate in any social activity in which she was not wanted.

41-44. While 26% of all students believed that their institution should offer a special orientation program for white students, 66% were opposed to this type of program. Male objections reflected concern that such a program might tend to emphasize the differences between blacks and whites as well as prevent meaningful interactions from occuring within the natural context of the classroom and extracurricular activities. Females tended to share the point of view that the adjustment of the white student was an individual experience which should not be guided or structured by the university. A group experiencing 23% of all students who approved of an orientation program would be willing to help plan and participate in activities such as racially mixed panels and small discussion groups to hasten the adjustment of the white student to the black university.

Discussion of Findings

This study, made possible by the responses of 23 percent of the white students who attended the five publicly supported predominantly black universities of North Carolina in 1969-70, offers several meaningful, generally descriptive conclusions that should serve to sharpen if not enhance the image and profile of this heretofore little researched group of students.

Most significantly, the white student upon entry at these five predominantly black universities is far more mature than his white counterpart who chooses to attend either a predominantly white institution, or; his black counterpart who chooses to attend either a predominantly white or predominantly black institution. (See Bayer and Boruch.) He or she (usually married and often with dependents) tends to be older, more responsible and less involved with campus and social extra-curricular activities. The delayed

nature of his enrollment results in general from the typically maturing experiences of employment and military or family involvement. Once enrolled, the specificity of goals, the high academic averages, the high aspirations levels all tend to indicate a notably purposeful view of the educational experience. That the white students themselves earn approximately threefourths of their college expenses demonstrators further their initiative and independence.

Ultimately, their expectations about and reactions to their experiences of a black campus reveal and reinforce their maturity. For despite the universal nature of their own reservations and sometimes overwhelming criticism of family, peer groups, school and church officials, these students continue to pursue their goals and feel themselves to be successful. Contrary to depictions hazarded elsewhere, the data assembled by this pilot study does not warrant that these students be seen as "knooks", troublemakers, radicals, flaming liberals or academic rejects. The essentials of a truer depiction is that they are more to be characterized as highly motivated and hardworking individuals whose determination overcomes financial, personal, and social circumstances.

Low cost and course offerings are the chief reasons they pursue their education at black universities and while they experience some pressure from concerned groups and some hesitation in expression of opinions, in general most conclude that their academic and social education is worth dealing with these problems. The females especially demonstrate their independence by overcoming the traditionally southern protective concerns surrounding the white female involved in interaction with a predominantly black culture.

Finally, these are students who are willing to learn by experiencing. Shunning the traditional structures of orientation programs they prefer to confront their adjustment problems on a personal, day to day basis within the natural context of the classroom and campus, enlisting the aid of anyone who seems relevant regardless of race. Such an attitude undoubtedly reflects the high degree of acceptance by blacks which they have felt as well as the relatively tolerant atmosphere in which they are able to function.

Thus, it would appear that an almost circular pattern is revealed in this study of expectations and experiences of white students enrolled in black universities. Because their pre-enrollment, experiences and age tend to contribute to their maturity, these students are able to pursue their educational goals and confront social and academic pressures with more determination, independence, self-confidence and perspective thereby enabling them to overcome obstacles. The result is an academically and socially broadening experience that reinforces their personal growth and development.

Further Steps

As is so often the case, the findings of this study have generated several fruitful areas of investigation worthy of pursuit. These presently unanswered questions may in fact prove even more relevant in view of the continuing rise of white enrollment in black universities throughout the country.

Of immediate concern should be the effect of the white enrollment on the traditional recruitment policies and operation of black campus. The following

questions emerge as significant portents for determining policy and restructuring:

(1) Should black universities go all out ot actively recruit white students in view of their demonstrated maturity and success rates and also as a means of partially relieving financial strains that are currently more intolerable on black campuses than white?

(2) How do black students, instructional and administrative personnel feel about expanding white enrollment?

(3) Is there any effect on the performance and attitudes of black students who come in contact with these white enrollees?

(4) Finally and perhaps of most crucial importance among the several immediate concerns, will an increase in white enrollment change the traditional role and mission of black institutions to the betterment or worsening of black people?

From a long range point of view, the white students' role as alumni must also be studied in order to evaluate the impact of their education. Follow-up research dealing with their actual pursuits of education, further degrees, their final occupations and their own assessment of the effect of their undergraduate education aon their lives cannot help but yield useful information. In much the same vein, their contributions, financial and otherwise, to the black campus would also seem important to investigate.

In concluding this pilot study we have attempted to lessen speculation by presenting a clearer and more meaningful profile of the white student who attends black institutions--out of the belief that with time white students at black institutions will increase in speed, number, and significance. It is our hope that the rather detailed descriptions entered here will prove a useful discussion for persons who have a general interest in the problems of higher education and for all those of a particular interest who have had or will have contact with this very interesting segment of the college population.

The readiest source known to the authors for answers to these and other long-range questions is Dr. Charles A. Stokes, Director, Bi-Racial Study, Institute of Services to Education, Inc., Washington, D.C. Dr. Stokes is currently in the midst of a five-year bi-racial study at five traditionally pubplic suported black institutions that have large white student enrollments. The institutions being studied are: Bowie State College, Bowie, Maryland; Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio; Delaware State College, Dover, Delaware; Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky; and Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri.

A PROFILE OF 69 WHITE STUDENTS ATTENDING FIVE PUBLIC SUPPORTED PREDOMINANTLY BLACK UNIVERSITIES IN NORTH CAROLINA

SECTION A: PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

ITEM	MALE*	FEMALE*	TOTAL*
1. Sex			
Male	40	-	40
Female	-	60	60
2. Age			
17-19	4	10	7
20-24	27	29	28
25-29	27	13	20
30-34	15	17	16
35-39	4	17	11
40-44	11	5	8
45-49	4	7	6
50-54	3	2	3
55-59	4	-	2
3. Marital Status			
Single	30	17	24
Married	70	69	70
Divorced	--	7	4
Widowed	--	2	1
Separated	--	5	3
4. Number of Children			
1	26	12	16
2	11	12	12
3	7	23	15
4	--	10	5
6	4	--	2
10	4	--	2
NA**	48	43	46
5. Place of Longest Residence			
Northeast	7	10	8
Southeast	33	31	32
Midwest	4	--	2
Plain States	22	14	18
Southwest	--	2	1
NA	34	43	39
6. Do You Live on Campus			
Yes	7	14	11
No	93	86	89

*All figures are reported in percents. In the totals column the percentages (averaged) reported for some items may exceed 100 due to rounding off upward and the selection of more than one choice in some of the questionnaire items by the student participants.

**No respondent had 4,7, etc., children so these figures have been omitted from the profile.

***NA - No Answer.

SECTION B: CLASSIFICATION AND OCCUPATIONAL GOALS

	ITEM	MALE*	FEMALE*	TOTAL*
7.	Classification			
	Freshman	15	20	17
	Sophomores	4	20	12
	Juniors	11	23	17
	Seniors	4	12	8
	Graduate	4	12	8
	Special	24	10	17
	Exchange	38	5	22
8.	What Is Your Major Field			
	History	11	--	6
	Sociology	--	7	4
	Mathematics	4	--	2
	Business Education	--	5	3
	Elementary Education	15	26	22
	Other	5	5	5
	NA**	10	22	16
9.	What Degree Is Your Ultimate Goal			
	Bachelor's	30	55	43
	Master's	33	33	33
	Doctorate	22	10	16
	NA**	15	2	9
10.	What Is Your Occupational Goal			
	Teaching	37	55	46
	Non-Teaching	48	40	44
	NA**	15	5	10
11.	What Is Your Cumulative Academic Average			
	1.50-1.99	--	7	4
	2.00-2.49	11	5	8
	2.50-2.99	22	23	15
	3.00-3.49	22	31	27
	3.50-3.99	22	24	23
	NA**	38	10	24

*All figures are reported in percents. In the totals column the percentages (averaged) reported for some items may exceed 100 due to rounding off upward and the selection of more than one response in some of the questionnaire items by the student participants.

**NA = No Answer

SECTION C: SOURCES OF INCOME

	ITEM	MALE*	FEMALE*	TOTAL*
12.	What are the Principle Sources of your Income			
	Parental Income	7	12	10
	Personal Savings	26	24	25
	Summer Jobs	19	5	12
	Scholarship	7	7	7
	Loan (Bank/Government)	7	23	15
	Work-Study	26	12	19
	Work-Aid	11	10	11
	Other	44	38	41
13.	Did You Enroll in This Institution Immediately After Graduation from High School?			
	Yes	--	7	4
	No	100	62	81
	NA**	--	31	16
14.	If you did not, are you Simply a Delayed Enrolled High School Graduate?			
	Yes	19	10	15
	No	70	71	71
	NA**	11	19	15
15.	If you were Delayed in Commencing your College Education, Please Indicate the Reason(s) that Caused the Delay:			
	Uninterested	19	7	13
	Needed to support family	11	2	7
	Discharged military obligations	41	--	21
	Got married	11	24	17
	Maternal	--	23	17
	Other	30	26	28
	NA**	--	2	1
16.	Are You a Transfer Student?			
	Yes	30	57	44
	No	63	40	52
	NA**	7	3	5
17.	If you are a transfer Student, did you Transfer to this institution:			
	Directly from predominantly white institution	30	14	22
	As delayed transfer from predominantly black institution	8	40	24
	NA**	62	46	54

*All figures are reported in percents. In the totals column the percentages (averaged) reported for some items may exceed 100 due to rounding upward and the selection of more than one response in some of the questionnaire items by the student participants.
**NA=No Answer

ITEM	MALE*	FEMALE*	TOTAL*
18. If you are a Delayed Transfer Student, Please indicate reasons:			
Uninterested at time	4	2	3
Needed to support family	14	4	9
Discharging military obligations	40	3	17
Got married	11	22	17
Maternal	--	16	8
Other	11	16	14
NA**	30	37	39
19. Having enrolled in this institution, do you now plan to graduate from here?			
Yes	59	59	59
No	33	36	35
NA**	8	5	7

SECTION E: REASONS AFFECTING ATTENDANCE AND RESERVATIONS

20. Why did you decide to attend this institution?			
Financial cost suited budget	48	43	46
Location of institution convenient	67	57	62
Courses and degree program offered relevant to my goals	63	52	58
Institution only school that accepted me	--	2	1
Other	26	29	28
21. Did you feel any reservations concerning your enrollment in this institution?			
Yes	100	100	100
22. If so, were your concerns:			
Of an academic nature	4	17	11
Of an financial nature	7	4	9
Of a social nature	--	48	24
NA**	81	74	79
23. What is your opinion Now?***			

*All figures are reported in percents. In the totals column the percentages (averaged) reported for some items may exceed 100 due to rounding upward and the selection of more than one response in some of the questionnaire items by the student participants.
**NA=No Answer
***This open-ended question required a written response.

ITEM		MALE*	FEMALE*	TOTAL*
24.	Using the reasons suggested in question 22, briefly explan what if any, reservations were expressed by:			
	Family	12	26	16
	High school official	--	2	1
	Church officials	--	3	2
	Friends	3	17	10
	NA**	85	52	70
25.	Briefly explain what opinion is now held by:			
	Family	5	19	12
	High School officials	1	5	3
	Church officials	--	7	4
	Friends	2	12	7
	NA**	92	57	74
SECTION F: PRIOR CONTACT WITH BLACKS				
26.	What was the approximate percentage of black students enrolled in the school you attended prior to enrolling into this institution?***			
	0	37	48	43
	1-5	22	26	24
	6-10	15	2	9
	16-25	7	5	6
	26-30	4	--	6
	91-99	15	14	15
27.	How would you describe your contact with black people prior to enrolling in this institution?			
	Non-existent	--	48	24
	Limited	37	14	26
	Extensive	52	38	45
	NA**	11	--	6
28.	What was the principle area of contact with black people prior to enrolling in this institution?			
	School	30	48	39
	Community organizations	5	12	9
	Religious organizations	5	14	10
	Other	58	26	42

*All figures are reported in percent. In the totals column the percentages (averaged) reported for some items may exceed 100 due to rounding off upward and the selection of more than one response in some of the questionnaire items by the student participants.
**NA=No Answer
***Intervals not checked by the respondents were omitted from the profile.

SECTION G: NON-ACADEMIC PARTICIPATION

	ITEM	MALE*	FEMALE*	TOTAL*
29.	To what extent did you expect to participate in non-academic campus activities prior to enrollment in this institution?			
	Not at all	33	50	42
	Occasionally	37	45	41
	Regularly	--	--	--
	NA**	30	2	16
30.	Do you now participate in non-academic campus activities?			
	Not at all	6	55	31
	Occasionally	19	38	30
	Regularly	7	5	6
	NA**	58	--	29
31.	If you do not participate, is it because:			
	You have no free time	41	50	46
	inconvenient for you to attend	33	19	26
	have other interest	30	12	21
	do not want to participate	11	--	6
	have not been asked to participate	22	7	15
	other	4	14	9
32.	In the classroom, are you able to express your opinions freely and comfortably?			
	Never	--	--	--
	Sometimes	48	48	48
	Always	49	48	49
	NA**	3	--	2
33.	Do you feel that your Black classmates express their opinions freely in front of you?			
	Sometimes	48	48	48
	Always	42	48	50
34.	Would you feel more at ease expressing your opinions if you were black?			
	Yes	37	29	33
	No	--	23	13
	NA**	63	48	56

*All figures are reported in percents. In the totals column the percentages (averaged) reported for some of the items may exceed 100 due to rounding off upward and the selection of more than one response in some of the questionnaire items by the student participants.
((NA=No Answer

SECTION H: NON-ACADEMIC PARTICIPATION

	ITEM	MALE*	FEMALE*	TOTAL*
35.	Do you resent being asked to take black studies courses?			
	Yes	37	29	33
	No	4	23	14
	NA**	59	48	55
36.	In your black studies courses, do you feel guilty?			
	Yes	22	8	15
	No	39	43	41
	NA**	39	49	44
37.	Are you more hesitant to express yourself in your black studies courses than in your other courses?			
	Yes	--	12	6
	No	19	38	29
	NA**	81	50	66
38.	Do Black Students Use any idiomatic or slang expressions that are difficult for you to understand?			
	Yes	26	24	25
	No	70	74	72
	NA**	4	--	2

SECTION I: ACADEMIC AND SOCIAL GUIDANCE PREFERENCES

39.	If you are having problems of an academic nature, do you seek help from:			
	Black Professor	25	20	23
	White Professor	15	13	14
	Black Counselor	--	2	1
	White Counselor	7	2	5
	Black Administrator	--	2	1
	White Administrator	--	2	3
	Black Friend	10	14	13
	White Friend	15	13	14
	Academic Advisor	5	10	8
	Other	23	19	21
40.	If you are having problems of a social nature, do you seek help from:			
	Black Professor	4	5	5
	White Professor	4	5	5
	Black Counselor	--	3	2
	White Counselor	4	3	4

*All figures are reported in percents. In the totals column the percentages (averaged) reported for some of the items may exceed 100 due to rounding off upward and the selection of more than one response in some of the questionnaire items by the student participants.
**NA=No Answer

ITEM	MALE*	FEMALE*	TOTAL*
Black Administrator	--	5	3
White Administrator	--	--	--
Black Friend	19	28	24
White Friend	25	16	21
Academic Advisor	--	12	6
Other	44	23	32

SECTION J: ORIENTATION PROGRAMS

41. Do you feel this Institution should have some kind of special orientation program or activity that would facilitate the adjustment of the white student in the predominantly black institution?			
Yes	33	19	26
No	67	64	66
NA**	--	17	9
42. If not, what are your objectives to such a program?			
It is necessary	23	33	28
Would only create more anxiety and tension	19	7	13
Do more harm than good	24	7	16
Would be difficult to plan	15	--	8
Would not be meaningful at the beginning of the year	--	12	6
Other	19	19	19
NA**	--	22	11
43. If you approve of such a program, what kind of orientation activities would you include?			
Lectures on the black experience by black professors, counselors, and administrators	22	14	18
Lectures on the black experiences by white professors, counselors, and administrators	11	10	11
Panel discussions led by white and black students	19	12	16
Small group discussion led by black and white students	22	24	23
Panel discussions led by white students who have attended predominantly black institutions	3	14	9

*All figures are reported in percents. In the totals column the percentages (averaged) reported for some of the items may exceed 100 due to rounding off upward and the selection of more than one response in some of the questionnaire items by the student participants.
**NA=No Answer.

ITEM	MALE*	FEMALE*	TOTAL*
Small group discussions led by white students who have attended predominantly black institutions	11	7	9
Co-curricular social activities	--	10	5
Other	12	19	16
44. Would you be interested in helping to plan and participate in such an orientation program?			
Yes	21	25	23
No	19	27	23
NA**	60	48	54

*All figures are reported in percents. In the totals column the percentages (averaged) reported for some of the items may exceed 100 due to rounding off upward and the selection of more than one response in some of the questionnaire items by the student participants.
**NA=No Answer

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THE WHITE STUDENT ON THE BLACK CAMPUS

Editor, REGIONAL ACTION

What is typical of the white student on a traditionally black campus in the South?

He is a native of the Southern region, between 27 and 30 years old, and likely to be married. He has not sought the advice of his family and friends in deciding to enroll in a black college. And, although deeply concerned about the nature of his experience, academic and social, and also about his physical safety, relatives and friends have made no strong efforts to influence his decision.

The student has had pleasant and unpleasant experiences related to problems of adjustment and acceptance, but has not sought special help. He prefers to work through any difficulty by relying upon his own determination, selfconfidence and maturity.

The white student arrives at the traditionally black campus with goals firmly fixed and immediately establishes the impression on fellow students and faculty that he has enrolled primarily to achieve these goals. Dependent upon limited family resources and his own savings, his decision to enroll at the black institution is based upon sound economic judgment. Expenses the colleges are relatively low, and its location makes daily commuting convenient. He has no plans to become involved in activities that will incur financial obligations. His careful review of the college's academic offerings assures him that the program he wants is available, and the quality of the facilities and the faculty does not need to be questioned. These factors have helped him overcome or minimize many of the reservations he had nurtured previously concerning the black college and university.

This profile of the white student on the black campus was published in The White Student on the Black Campus, written by Charles I. Brown of the faculty at Fayetteville State University in North Carolina and released by the Southern Regional Education Board.

In recent years much attention has been focused on the black student enrolled in formerly all-white schools-his adjustment to the new environment, his academic progress, and the attitude of other students on the campus. Less has been said about the white student who is in a minority group on the black campus, and has also been ajusting to a new environment.

The SREB report is based on answers to 626 questionnaires, with almost an equal number of men and women responding. None of the students questioned had ever before attended a predominantly black institution. However, most reported that black students were enrolled in the institutions attended previously by the white students. Contacts with blacks, however, had been very limited and restricted to school and employment experiences.

Principal Findings

Each item of data gathered during the study of white students on black, public campuses in the South, is important to college and university administrators, faculty, and other persons or agencies having responsibilities for education beyond the high school. Listed below are the findings which Mr. Brown considered most significant and revealing about the white students on the campuses included in the study:

1. Responses revealed an almost evenly divided enrollment by sex; more than 50 percent were married. The mean age for female students exceeded by three years the mean age of the male students, 30 to 27.

2. Two-thirds of the students were enrolled in full-time programs and reported above average grades.

3. The majority of the students commuted daily to the campus, preferring either to reside at home or at off-campus addresses.

4. Approximately 57 percent of the students financed their education with personal funds and assistance from their parents. Twenty percent received assistance in forms of scholarships and grants from the schools.

5. Nearly one-half of the students were transfers from predominantly white institutions.

6. Convenience of location, availability of desired degree programs and low tuition costs were the chief factors given for enrolling at the black institutions.

7. A third of the students admitted reservations, social and academic about enrolling at the black institution. Their families were enthusiastic over the idea, and only their friends and some peers expressed some doubts as to the wisdom of their decision.

8. Fiftysix percent of the students had experienced practically no contact with blacks prior to their enrollment at the college.

9. More than half of the students experienced no difficulty in expressing themselves in the classroom and did not believe they would feel more at ease if they were black students.

10. Seventy-five percent of the students accepted Black Studies courses without hesitancy and resentment, and half of these experienced no guilt and embarrassment while attending the black studies courses.

11. Approximately 40 percent of the students participated in non-academic activities; a majority reported that they really had no free time.

12. Socially, race did not appear to be a significant factor. Student interrelationships were based upon common interest.

13. Sixty percent of the white students believed that black students evidenced the most racist attitudes on the campus.

14. Seventy-nine percent of the students reported that the academic programs met or exceeded their expectations, and a majority were satisfied with the non-academic programs offered.

15. A majority of the students indicated that their concern was to seek assistance from any available source whether the person was black or white.

16. The majority believed that any special orientation for white students was unnecessary and would simply create more anxiety and tension among faculty and students.

The White Student on the Black Campus has raised many more questions than it has answered. Among those still to be answered is the question of the feelings and experiences of black students at institutions where reverse integration is occuring at a quickening pace. Will the trend of turn-about desegregation improve the lot of traditionally black public colleges and universities academically and financially? If it does, will this be at the sacrifice of the role these institutions have played traditionally in state systems of post-secondary education? What long range effects will the experience of attending a traditionally black public college have on the lives and careers of the white students?

The SREB study is a beginning and indicates that change is taking place with increasing rapidity. The change is seen most clearly by the altered attitude of more white students faced with the possibility and practicality of enrolling in formerly all-black colleges and universities.

TABLE XVIII

EIGHTEEN TRADITIONALLY BLACK PUBLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN STUDY

Colleges and Universities	Total White Enrollment			% of Total Responding			Questionnaire Returned					% Re-ponses Per Sex		% of Sample (2) Each College by Sex		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	No. Sent	M	F	T	%	M	F	M	F	T
Alabama A and M	355	330	685	7	11	9	105	26	36	62	59	42	58	8	12	10
Albany State	24	27	51	25	37	31	57	6	10	16	28	38	63	2	3	3
Bowie State	394	775	1169	6	4	5	105	25	29	54	51	46	54	8	10	9
Coppin State	194	159	353	7	11	8	105	9	18	27	26	33	67	3	6	4
Elizabeth City State University	41	30	71	41	57	48	76	17	17	34	45	50	50	5	6	5
Fayetteville State University	34	21	55	82	86	84	110	18	28	46	42	39	61	5	9	7
Florida A and M	112	50	162	11	12	11	105	12	6	18	17	67	33	4	2	3
Fort Valley State College	9	2	11	44	50	45	16	4	1	5	31	80	20	1	Less than1	1
Kentucky State University	440	430	870	13	9	11	105	59	40	99	94	60	40	18	13	16
Morgan State	495	241	736	4	5	5	105	22	12	34	32	65	35	7	4	5
North Carolina Central University	86	32	118	26	47	31	105	22	15	37	35	59	41	7	5	6
Savannah State College	140	117	257	9	4	7	105	13	5	18	17	72	28	4	2	3
South Carolina State College	151	125	276	4	9	6	105	6	11	17	16	35	65	2	4	3
Southern University (1)	52	49	101	7	0	4	105	7	0	7	7	100	0	2	0	1
Tennessee State University	100	130	230	25	19	22	105	25	25	50	48	50	50	8	8	8
Texas (1) Southern University	56	54	110	35	21	28	105	33	19	52	51	61	39	10	6	8
Virginia State College	142	125	267	13	6	10	105	19	8	27	26	70	30	6	3	4
Winston-Salem State University	18	49	67	33	35	34	72	6	17	23	32	26	74	2	6	4
Totals	2843	2746	5589	11	11	11	1696	329	297	626	37	53	47	100	100	100

(1) Enrollment Data Received from Office for Advancement of Public Negro Colleges.
(2) Percentages Rounded.

TWO SIDES OF THE COIN: WHITE STUDENTS IN BLACK INSTITUTIONS

Ada M. Elam

A little known phenomenon, which has already reached significant proportions, is the increased enrollment of white students on black campuses. A limited number of institutions and researchers have focused their attention on studying this recent trend. I will share with you some of their findings as they relate to (1) the extent of white enrollment at the 107 historically black colleges, (2) the characteristics of the white minority students, (3) the motivation of white matriculants for attending black colleges, (4) the reaction of the white students to their intercultural experiences and education, (5) the response of the historically black colleges and black students to their new clientele, and (6) the attitudes and attitudinal changes of both black and white students.

White Enrollment on Black Campuses

The white enrollment on some historically black college campuses has been relatively small: at a few campuses, it is significantly large; on others, the increase of white students has been of such magnitude that it has changed the colleges into predominantly white institutions. Some colleges, such as Howard University which began admitting white students in the 1870's, have a long tradition of having had white students. For the most part, however, the significant increase of integration in reverse occurred after three historic rulings--the 1954 Surpeme Court decision, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the HEW legal suit (Adams v. Richardson) of 1973.

Applications by white students for admission to black professional schools, such as the schools of law, medicine and dentistry of Howard University have been particularly heavy. However, some undergraduate institutions, such as Bowie State College, Delaware State, and Kentucky State have had large increases in their undergraduate white enrollment, ranging from 20% to 40%. Three institutions, West Virginia State, Lincoln Univeristy (Missouri) and Bluefield State (West Virginia) have already become predominantly white institutions. In the aggregate, according to an Institute for Services to Education study (1975), of the 109,414 students enrolled in predominantly black colleges and universities, 8,380 or 7.65% are white.

Characteristics of White Students at Black Colleges

Studies delineating the profile of white students on black campuses generally agree that the students are older, have finished their military service, are married with families, are transfer students, are employed, and for the most past attend part time as commuters. Both a study of racial integration in the Maryland State (1969) and Charles I. Brown's 1973 study of white students enrolled in eighteen traditionally black southern colleges

found that most white students live near the college or university they attend. They usually fall in the 21-and above age group.

The Institute for Services to Education study (1975) found that in 73 historically black colleges surveyed in 1973, white students composed a greater proportion of the part-time than of the full-time enrollment. Of the 96,784 full-time students, 93.3% were black, 4.4% were white, and 2.0% were foreign. However, of the 12,630 part-time students, 64.2% were black, and 32.4% were white.

Motivation of White in Attending Black Colleges

Why do white students enroll at black colleges? What is their motivation Proximity, convenience, adaptability of education to the life style of the white students, program availability, and easy entrance requirements explain why most white students attend black colleges. Many of these students, because of military obligations, early marriages, and possibly poor grades, delayed their college education, but now must flexibly adapt college study to their work and family obligations. Brown (1973) found that the white students arrived at the traditionally black college with goals firmly fixed, and their decision to enroll was based upon rational thought and sound economic judgment.

The Maryland study (1969) reported, however, that some white students made their choice of a predominantly black college for philosophical reasons. Some were interested in experiencing a minority status. Others were interested in fulfilling the objective of racial understanding. Yet others had a desire to appear unprejudiced or wished to attract attention to themselves.

Ida R. Stevens (1976), Dean of Students at Bowie State College, in studying the beliefs concerning housing and student activities of white students enrolled in five predominantly black instittuions found that the white students attended the black college primarily to get an education. They had a serious attitude toward their education and apparently were not there to participate in social or extra-curricular activities.

Reaction of the White Students on the Black Campuses

It appears that the white students attending black colleges were initially apprehensive; have been accorded a decidedly warm and positive reception; have, periodically, unpleasant experiences, including occasional experiences of black racism; and at times, are harassed by their own family and friends. The Stevens report (1976), showing that the students have a strictly serious attitude toward their education and leave immediately after classes are over, may indicate the lack of comfort of these students in a majority black environment. Indeed, the report explicitly elicited the reaction that some students shun student activities out of fear of ridicule, harassment or lack of acceptance. However, the experiences of those who do participate is that their apprehension is unfounded.

Another indication that whites on black campuses are uncomfortable with their minority status is the extent to which they express a desire for more

white students. In a recent survey of the college environment conducted by the Division of Student Affairs at Bowie State College, 59% of the white students polled felt that the College should actively recruit more black students. The Institute for Services to Education study showed that most white freshmen entering Bowie State College in 1971 felt that the idea college should be one-half black and one-half white. Other survey findings, such as those indicating that white students feel that the presence of white faculty on campus symbolizes the College's acceptance of white students, suggest that white students are seeking ethnic changes in the composition of black colleges in order to create an environment which is more comfortable for them.

The literature indicates that white students appear satisfied with the academic offerings of black colleges. In the study of the college environment conducted by the Division of Student Affairs at Bowie State College, 68% OF THE white respondents indicated that most courses were challenging in that they required extensive outside preparation and intensive study. In addition, a large percentage (72%) agreed with the statement, "Most faculty here really care about the students."

Stevens' study also bears out this positive view of educational opportunities. The majority of students in her study agreed that the institutions fostered a climate. They further indicated that most of the faculty presented well-prepared subject matter. They felt that the instruction generally met the needs of the students within the framework of course objectives. The students also found the institutional services for academic advisement, financial assistance and personal counseling quite adequate.

One finding of the Maryland study (1969) dramatically summarizes the positive reactions of the white student to his black college experience. In a reply to the question, "On the whole, do you feel you made the right decision in attending a black college?", 80 of the 83 students interviewed replied affirmatively.

The Impact of White Students on Black Campuses

Although white students appear not to want special provisions made for them on black campuses, these campuses, in fact, have made some significant changes in order to accommodate the new clientel. Personnel have been added to specialize in recruiting and couseling white students. Human relations programs have, at times, been held to effect a multi-racial consciousness. Special honors programs have been instituted to meet the needs of well-prepared whites. Also important, numerous programs have been added to the existing curricula, in part to respond to the needs of white students.

The State of Maryland has instituted an Other-Race Grant Program (ORGP) designed to assist students who qualify to attend oneof the state colleges where members of their race are in the minority. This program has contributed to the success of recruiting and retaining white students on black campuses, as well as to the success of enrolling black students on white campuses.

The increase in the number of honors-type programs on black campuses has been concurrent with an increase in white enrollment. These concurrent events

are correlated and undoubtedly each has had influence on the other. However, they are not directly linked casually, since black colleges have for a number of years offered programs especially designed for black students with high ability or academic potential. John Clovis (1973) of the Division of Behavioral Science Research of Tuskegee Institute found that among 64 historically black colleges in the Southeast, 43 (67%) offered at least one special program of academic enrichment for students with high potential, and that these programs had existed on their campuses for several years. The types of programs offered were honors programs, honors sections, independent study, credit by examination, tutorials, and field experiences.

The appointment of integration personnel in various colleges in Maryland is a direct institutional response of these institutions to meet the needs of other-race students on campus. As a part of the State's desegregation plan, integration coordinators are charged with the primary responsibility of recruiting other-race students, and integration counselors are employed to assist these students in adjusting to their new environment.

Human relations seminars and workshops are a specific institutional response to other-race students. Bowie State College, for example, was awarded a grant in 1973 under Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965, which provided for a series of seminars to promote better understanding between the races. The program focused on assisting students to adjust to the interracial environment of the Bowie campus. The most recent workshop at Bowie was sponsored in the spring of 1976 by the Student Affairs Division, exploring the topic "Self Awareness: An Approach to Multi-racial Consciousness." Coppin State College of Baltimore conducted a series of workshops dealing with the problems of racial prejudice in our society. The major thrust of the workshop was to provide an open forum for effective dialogue among members of the college community in its quest for harmonious integration.

Reaction of Black Students to White Students on the Black Campuses

Black students have in general reacted positively to their fellow white students. As indicated earlier, whites report that in general they have been accorded a warm reception. Black students are, for the most part, friendly to the whites. If not overly friendly, they are at least indifferent to the white influx. Little or no hostility has been observed among blacks, even to the disproportionate number of whites on the Dean's List or on the list of those who are graduated with honors.

There are indications, however, that integration in reverse occuring too rapidly can create an adverse reaction on the part of blacks. There are two reasons for this. Blacks fear the loss of an institution that preserves their cultural heritage. Many black students look to the predominantly black colleges as institutions that are aware and have an understanding of their heritage as black people a heritage which is not particularly well projected by white institutions. Rapid and sudden changes in the racial composition of these institutions cause black students to perceive that a black institution is fading away before their very eyes, and, thus, a part of their cultural heritage is being taken away from them.

A second reason that a rapid change in the racial composition of the black college might cause an adverse reaction is that black students feel they are being pushed out, and, thereby, deprived of an education. Oddly enough, it can be demonstrated that the percentage increase of white students is accompanied by an absolute increase in the number of black students served in the historically black colleges. Concurrently an even greater number of black students are being educated in other predominantly white institutions of higher education. In brief, the total education of blacks can be shown to have expanded. Nevertheless, the rapid increase in the number of white students on the black campus can create the impression that they are being pushed out. This impression, though not based on fact, is as significant in causing an adverse reaction as if, in fact, it had been true.

Attitudinal Changes

What attitudinal changes, if any, occur among the white students as a result of being on a predominantly black campus? What attitudinal changes, if any, occur among the black students as a result of having an increasing number of whites, as minorities, attend college with them? It is impossible to answer these questions with precision. The limited research findings available, however, do suggest that a historically black college with white minority students constitutes an environment that has a positive impact on the attitudes of black students and white students toward each other.

In 1971, a racial attitude scale was devised and administered to 238 students at Bowie State College (Elam, 1972). The study group consisted of 149 (63%) black and 89 (37%) white. The sample was relatively consistent with the total racial composition of the Undergraduate College at Bowie (blacks 72%, whites 28%). The instrument consisted of two parts. The first part included 51 attitudinal statements which surveyed students beliefs and feelings about members of both races, black and white. Items centered around questions relating to the intelligence, attitudes, habits, and other characteristics of both races. The second part included statements pertaining to students' contacts with the other race before and after attending Bowie State College.

The results of the study showed that there were significant differences in the racial attitudes of blacks and whites and that these differences were related to age, pre-college contact and college contact. The results clearly indicated that the racial attitudes of whites were more positive than those of blacks, and that older black students (over 34) had a more positive attitude than younger blacks.

A further analysis revealed that white students perceived characteristics of blacks very much as did blacks, and that blacks' and whites perceptions of whites were similar. Response to the statement, "Differences between Black and Whites in intelligence and scholastic aptitude are caused more by environmental factors than genetic factors," indicated agreement by 93% of both black and white students. A majority of blacks (91.3%) and whites (96.6%) agreed that blacks are capable of holding top leadership positions in this country. The majority of students in both groups (black, 81.8%; whites, 95.5%) endorsed the statement, "Blacks and whites, have similar needs and desires." Approximately 89% of the blacks and 98.8% of the whites disagreed with the statement, "It is usually a mistake to trust a person of another race."

Several items were noted in which there was a wide disparity of agreement. The statement, "Most blacks hate most white people," received endorsement by 28.8% of the blacks and only 9.9% of the whites. When the statement was reversed, 51% of th blacks as compared with 13.5% of the white students agreed that most whites hate most black people. Response to the statement, "Whites actually fear blacks," indicated agreement by 69.1% of the black students and only 38.2% of the white students. When the statement was reversed, 13.4% of the blacks and 20.2% of the whites indicated agreement. A majority of black students (65%) agreed with the statement, "Whites tend to come across to blacks as condescending in their attempt to promote equality" as compared with the small percentage of white students (3.4%) who agreed. However, approximately the same proportions of both groups (blacks, 52%; whites, 54%) believed that "Blacks tend to come across as bold and disrespectful in their attempt to gain equality."

In reference to pre-college and college contact and racial attitude, it was found that those students who had a high degree of college contact had a significantly higher racial attitude score than those with limited pre-college and college contact. These findings indicate that the experience of being a white minority on a black campus has a positive impact on the attitudes of blacks toward whites and an even more positive impact on the racial attitudes of whites toward blacks.

Summary

In summary, the enrollment of white students at black colleges has steadily increased in recent years. Those who attend are generally older, have completed their military service, are married with families, have little interest in student activities, are transfer students, are employed, and for the most part attend part time as commuters. Proximity, convenience, adaptability of education to the life style of the white student, program availability, and easy entrance requirements explain the motivation of white matriculants for attending black colleges. Although some white students have reservations or apprehensions about enrolling in black colleges, they indicate that their experiences (educationally and socially) are decidedly positive. Black colleges have responded to the new white clientele by adding new programs to the existing curricula, employing white faculty and counselors, and providing human relations programs. Black students have in general reacted positively to their fellow white students; however, there are indications that integration in reverse occuring too rapidly can create an adverse reaction on the part of blacks. It also appears that the environment of the historically black campus has a positive impact on the racial attitudes of both black and white students.

Implications and Areas for Future Research

Movement toward the American ideal of multiculturalism can be a two-way process, as the movement of white students to black campuses concurrently with the movement of black students to white campuses has demonstrated. The process may apply to other black institutions. The process may apply to institutions of other minorities. Furthermore, evidence indicates that this movement may proceed harmoniously.

The limited scope of this investigation leaves numerous questions unanswered. Does integration in reverse proceed at the same rate at public and private black colleges? Is the impact on the black institution with large percentages of black students the same as the impact with small percentages? If not, what is the difference? We know something of the attitudinal changes of white and black students when integration in reverse occurs. But what happens to changes in actual performance of black students improve? Do the white students perform better because of the new environment? What happens to the black institution? Is the institution strengthened by the new infusion? Does it attract more external resources? At what point does it actually lose its racial identity? Most important, what implications do these changes have for the production of more black graduates for fields in which minorities are under-represented? In brief, does the new phenomenon we are observing presage an expansion or diminution of opportunities for blacks in higher education? Further research is required to yield answers to these questions.

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BELIEFS OF WHITE STUDENTS CONCERNING HOUSING AND STUDENT ACTIVITIES IN SELECTED BLACK INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Ida Stevens-Burghardt

In that much has already been written about the origin, development problems, transition and the future of the black college elsewhere, save for a few introductory summative type statements, this paper makes no attempt to present a detailed history of the black colleges.

Suffice it to say that the 34 public traditionally black colleges in the United States are located in 19 southern and border states. All 34 institutions are fully accredited by their regional accrediting agencies. In addition to providing an educational opportunity for more than one-fourth of all black students in college today the mission of the black colleges is to conduct research and service programs that serve to ultimate benefit of the entire nation.

One other summative statement that should be called to attention is that insofar as the attendance of white students at traditionally black colleges is concerned, white enrollment - assisted by a compulsory abandonment of de jure segregation laws in 1965 - today comprises 12 percent of the collective enrollment at the several 34 institutions.

Against this background one can only be struck with the anomalous investigative behavior of researchers who have chosen to inquire into the various ramifications of minority students on campus in this instance numerous studies have been done in the black student on the predominantly white campus. Little, however, has been written about the white student on the black campus. On the latter point Nathan Hare writes, ". . . the social and cultural conflicts of this transitional situation of reverse integration have been largely neglected for the study of black into white situations." Especially this is the case regarding campus housing and college sponsored out-of class activities.

As Dean of Students at Bowie State College, a traditionally black institutiton, the number of whites enrolled at the time of this study was 33 percent of the enrollment. Of this number, however, less than one percent of the white students enrolled lived in campus residences or participated in out-of-class student activities.

Reluctance to live on campus and to become involved in student affairs may be the reaction to fears which may, or may not, be justified and may or may not be real. Nevertheless, the fears may cause them to react negatively to positive attempts of black administrators who have made scholarships and other forms of financial assistance available to them.

This study was made in an attempt to inform administrators of the traditionally black institutions the reasons white students enrolled at the institution but did not live in campus housing or participate in student activities. This study was to provide the administrators with information that would assist them in correcting, or alleviating any misconceptions white students might have.

It is desirable to have white students integrated into the academic life of the black institutions. It is desirable by black administrators and by some black students that whites become completely integrated in the total life of the college, particularly in housing and in on-campus activities. The integration of whites into a predominantly black environment necessitates an adjustment period for people of both races. Whites must adjust, in a major way, to a different culture. Blacks must adjust to the presence of whites on campus. However, it appears that the greater adjustments and pressures must be made by whites as expressed by Aber:

> . . . in this unique relationship, the onus of adjustment is largely upon the white student. This is not meant to imply that there are no pressures for change on the black student, but rather that the primary burden of accomodation has shifted to the white student. The black students are in the established position; they still occupy the dormitories almost exclusively and campus activities are in their control.

Dormitories and on-campus student activities offer opportunities for interaction between blacks and whites. They are key points of college life which provide opportunities for developing friendships and understandings in an unlimited social environment. In these environments students are permitted , if they choose, to enjoy group living, sharing, and planning. Dormitories and on-campus activities provide opportunities for students to engage in activities that promote social and emotional development.

Student activities provide avenues for socialization. Some activities, such as travel and athletics, originate on campus, but often take students away for short periods of time. Although there appears to be close interaction during these activities, there does not exist a strong motive for socialization following them. Particularly, this is so in the areas of campus housing and on-campus activities. Usually upon return to campus, students tend to return to alliances and friendships within their own groups.

It is important that factual information submitted by whites of their beliefs concerning housing and student activities bo considered. This information would be meaningful to all personnel responsible for administering programs to meet the diverse needs of areas of concern of white students.

It must be established for the purpose of this paper that the word <u>beliefs</u> refers to an opinion, an expectation, and/or a judgment. <u>Housing</u> refers to dormitories and other living areas for students, <u>student activities</u> refers to events promoting social and personal growth.

Data for this paper were collected from 112 respondents who were enrolled in six predominantly black institutions with a white enrollment of 10 percent or more, excluding the institutions with more than 49 percent white enrollment. The respondents were chosen from the following institutions: Bethune-Cookman College,; Bowie State College; Central State College; Delaware State College; Howard University; and University of Maryland Eastern Shore. All respondents in the sample were undergraduate students.

Of the 112 respondents, 57 were males and 55 were females ranging in age from 17 to over 24. Ninety-four percent were in the over 24 category; 52 percent were married; 46 percnet were single; and 2 percent were widowed. Fourteen percent lived on campus. The annual family income of the largest percentage (49.1 prcent) of the respondents was over $10,000.00. Each student classification was represented. Ninety-one percent were full-time students.

White students enrolled at the predominantly black institutions because of the low cost, 51 percent; because of the location, 65 percent; because of academic programs, 28 percent; to be with friends, 4 percent; and 16 percent gave other reasons: athletic program; scholarship offer; and personal need.

The beliefs of white students surveyed are reported in this paper.

The findings do not indicate any specific dissatisfaction regarding housing and student activities. However, the data indicate that because of the close proximity of the institution to the students' homes, it is more convenient to stay home than to commute. The residence halls were reported as adequate for studying and lounging. One deficiency in housing was the lack of residence hall supervision and programming. This deficiency is due primarily to the lack of funds to attract trained personnel for supervision of the halls, and to plan and to implement programs in the residence halls that would aid in growth and development. Another deficiency was the lack of funds for building attractive and functional residence facilities and for maintenance.

Another reason that whites may not reside in the residence halls on black campuses is the custom of in loco parentis has not been abolished in most black institutions. Practices in white institutions, as well as in their homes, provide more freedom of activity, and selection of activities on individual bases. Therefore, it may be that whites are not accustomed to the continuous supervision and direction of group living found in the residence halls.

The institutions in this study provided non-academic student activities which included the performing arts, social clubs, debating teams, and athletics.

More whites students performed as leaders in the performing arts and in athletics than any other non-academic activities.

Findings

The majority of the students agreed that the institutions fostered a climate for learning, and that the administrators, faculty, and students were interested in maintaining the intellectual climate. However, the students did not feel that the educational programs of the institutions were smoothly coordinated, and they felt the registration procedures were poorly executed.

The students reported that most of the faculty presented well-prepared subject matter, and they felt that instruction, generally, met the needs of the students within the framework of course objectives.

The students found the institutional services for academic advisement, financial assistance, and personal counseling quite adequate.

The students reported that although some facilities were limited, and some others non-existent, the existing facilities were satisfactory.

They noted the lack of programs in the residence hall for student growth and student development. They said the residence halls were supervised for some period of each day, and that the rooms were checked for student illness, repairs, and cleanliness.

They reported that the building was kept in good physical condition sometimes, and repairs and replacements were made immediately depending upon the repair.

The students reported living in the residence hall was an enjoyable experience and they found the black residents friendly. Most of the students reported they would recommend residence hall living on a black campus to other whites.

The chief reason students do not participate in student activities is the lack of time according to the respondents. They also lack interest in the activities, and they fear ridicule, harassment, and they feel they are not accepted. There were some students that did participate in student activities, and they report the associations with the black students in these activities were enjoyable.

Most students reported that theprogram of student activities had met their expectations, few reported that the activities had failed to meet their expectations. Some students felt that additional activities should be included in the program of student activities.

Many students reported that the program of student activities had met their expectations, few reported that the activities had failed to meet their expectations. Some students felt that additional activities should be included in the program of student activities.

Many students participated in student activities on campus that had not considered participation when enrolling at the institution.

Conclusions

Housing

Nine percent of the respondents in this study lived in residence halls on campus. Whites may avoid the residence hall for many reasons. However, there were two main deficiencies in most of the residence halls on the traditionally black campuses. One such deficiency has been the lack of funds to attract trained personnel for the supervision of the halls and to plan and implement programs in the residence hall that would aid in the growth and development of the residents. The second deficiency is the lack of funds for building attractive functional residence facilities, and for adequate maintenance. If whites

are to be attracted to the residence halls on traditionally black campuses, the residence halls must be better constructed; better equipped; and staffed with trained personnel.

There were ten whites living on campuses of the institutions that were covered in this study. Most of the students indicated that no special provisions were made for them. Perhaps the white population in the residence halls of the black campuses would increase if special living quarters, or if special services were provided which are not normally practiced at the institutions. An example would be providing maid services and other conveniences.

Ten students indicated that the facilities in the residence halls were adequate in terms of provisions for study rooms; five believed the facilities adequate because of the lounges in the residence halls; and six thought the recreation rooms made the facilities adequate, also. Only three students felt the common areas were adequate. If the black institutions are to attract whites to the residence halls, greater planning and design must be included in building more facilities to enrich residence hall living for whites, as well as for black students.

Thirty-seven percent of the whites reported that faculty members do not encourage residence hall living. Residence halls have become isolated from the classrooms because the residence hall personnel have not included faculty members in the residence hall programs. Therefore, faculty members must have closer intellectual and social exchanges, so that they can become catalysts for encouragement to students.

The date revealed that the residence halls were supervised for some period of each day. The custom of in loco parentis has been abolished in most black institutions. Practices in white institutions, as well as in their homes, provide more freedom of activity and selection of activities on individual bases. Therefore, one reason that whites do not reside in black residence halls may be caused by the continuous supervision and direction of group living to which they are not accustomed.

Most of the whites living in the residence halls reported the blacks were friendly. Therefore, whites living in close proximity with black in small groups generates an atmosphere of cordiality. Perhaps greater racial harmony may exist off-campus if more whites lives in black residence hall.

Over onehalf of the whites in residence indicated they would recommend residence hall living on a predominantly black campus to other whites. Many myths concerning the inferiority of blacks are dispelled when there is close interaction between them and whites. Residence hall living provides the laboratory for examining peaceful co-existence.

Student Activities

Ninety-three percent of the respondents reported that their associations with blacks were friendly and satisfying while participating in non-academic student activities. If the white students develop a relationship with blacks

in non-academic activities that is satisfying, the relationships can be extended to activities off-campus as well. Therefore, the black administrators have wonderful opportunity to use their campus as laboratories to develop warm, personal, meaningful relationships with whites. If the campuses become laboratories of good will, the differences between the races would be dissolved.

Fifty-five percent of the respondents reported lack of participation in non-academic student activities was due to lack of time. Therefore, programs of non-academic activities would be planned during the day, in order that students who cannot return to campus for evening activities may participate and become full members of the college community. If whites were included in planning and in implementing the activities, there is every possibility that they would be attracted to them.

The data revealed that fifty-two percent of the respondents lacked interest in the non-academic student activities. This fact has implications that the program of non-academic activities should be re-evaluated in terms of its effectiveness in meeting the non-academic needs of all students. Interracial planning boards should be considered for the purpose of including whites and for presenting activities interesting to whites.

Fifty-nine percent of the students participated in non-academic student activities. Twenty-one percent were involved regularly, and 37 percent were seldom received in non-academic activities. Thirty-four percent did not participate at all. This means that more vigorous plans must be organized to engage the students, so that they will be full-fledged members of their college communities. In an academic setting, more interactions between the racial group creates better and friendlier relationships in the classrooms.

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RECRUITING THE MINORITY STUDENT FOR BLACK CAMPUSES

William H. Parker

As a result of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, both black and white colleges or universities in question were required to submit Affirmative Action Plans for desegregation. Some of the institutions submitted plans to HEW but were rather slow in implementing them due to lack of knowledge or expertise. The more aggressive institutions had already anticipated the courts decisions and had begun taking definite steps by planning, programming and budgeting in advance. It was this advanced planning to expedite the desegregation Plan of Compliance that brough about the success now being experienced by the aggressive colleges and universities. For any institution to function smoothly and operate efficiently with the rate of minority growth expected, a well developed, phased, plan should be developed.

The minority student is looking for quality programs and professors. Quality programs are generally brought into existence by the Ph.D. type professors. If quality is needed, concentrated efforts should be made to attract highly trained and skilled faculty. If an institution is having trouble in accomplishing its affirmative action plans, one of the first steps to be taken is to assign a committee to design an affirmative program of action for recruiting the minority student. The program should be reviewed with and by all administrators, faculty, supportive staff and the student body before being adopted and implemented. A coordinated effort by all college or university personnel and the student body must be demonstrated if the plan is to be successful.

The minority students don't want to be treated any differently than other students. However, they will be very critical of poor mechanics in registration, business affairs, poor teaching and especially persons that don't seem to know what they are doing. This type of administrative practices will determine whether they will enroll a second term or not. So, every effort must be made to organize and plan to employ the best admininstrative practices.

If the administration of an institution expects to accomplish the mission of growth and to become multi-culturaled, a full time Recruiter-Coordinator should be employed. The individual should be white if possible, hold at least a B.S. degree, be able to relate to the black as well as white students, counselors and civic groups. An extensive training period should begin well in advance of the recruiting session as possible. A budget to include an adequate salary and travel expenses should be adopted. During the first two years the recruiter should travel an average of 40 weeks per year visiting the high schools, junior colleges, and other places or groups. The remainder of the time should be spent developing recuriting literature, counseling students, research, and developing techniques and materials that will sell the university. After the first year, a second full-time minority person should be employed in the Admissions area to answer telephone calls and assist walk-ins.

During the first year or the future years, advance commuication techniques should be established such as workshops for high school counselors, principals and businessmen in the immediate area. Extra territories should be added to the initial area each year until the required recruiting goals have been reached.

The news media must become a part of the educational program of growth. Radio and T.V. programs depicting quality programs of the institution and statements to the effect that the institution accepts all races both black and white will aid greatly in recruiting white students. Also, further steps should be developed to bring the institution's story to the people by increasing the number of articles released to the major newspapers in the area. Training sessions for the white alumni, student recruiters and sport workshops should be developed. This will give the aggresive institution a marked advantage. Other strategies that should be used are:

1. Use both black and white team approach when possible.

2. Study ahead of time the group that you plan to present a program for recruiting purposes. If the group is about fifty percent white, use the white Admissions Counselor to head up the program assisted by the black Admissions Counselor. Communication and interaction with only black students present is greater when the black counselor is presenting the program and when only white students are present it is greater when a white counselor is presenting the program.

3. Make map of population distribution according to race and use it in recruiting.

4. More positive results can be expected when the high school counselors or principals are briefed on the institution's program before the Admissions Counselor arrives on the campus. An incoming and outgoing telephone watts line will allow the counselors and students to call the Admissions Office without charge to obtain pertinent and timely information about the institution. This should improve the lines of communications between the Admissions Counselors and the institutions. The Admissions Counselors should always call the high school counselor or contact person before making a visit.

A well planned relations program will be needed if any success is to be expected. Several strategies that may help in this area are:

1. Be sure to include some white students among the black students in pictures or films released to the news media.

2. Within a certain radius of the campus, grant some tuition scholarships to the principals, counselors and teachers. This should be limited to each school.

3. Invite the counselors from high schools and community colleges within a fifty mile radius to a workshop on campus. Plan to expand the radius in future years.

4. Take a look at the surrounding community educational needs and broaden the curriculum to fit the community.

5. Encourage faculty and staff members to join the major civic organizations of the community and establish rapport with the power structure. The power structure should be invited to attend outstanding programs on the college or university campus.

6. Carefully select or screen speakers that are invited to the campus. Do not select speakers that are known racist or present racial overtones. Nothing turns the white student off any more than a speaker of this type. One must remember that it wasn't the younger generation of whites that formed the present society.

7. Plan to publish at least one article per month in the major newspaper on the minority student.

New and up-dated materials or literature that accurately describe the University and its program should be developed. This will take time and it is better to use consultants or specialists to get the job done. Remember quality will always pay. Recruiting materials to include video tapes can be developed over the summer months. The cost is minimal and remember you are trying to catch the eye of the viewer. Since most prospective students have access to record players, a well edited sound sheet cost very little and can get the message over to the listener.

Try to make the white student feel that he/she is a part of the student body instead of being a sore eye in a foreign culture. Plan and invite the white student to participate in assembly programs. It would be good for the university choir, band, etc., to invite the white students to participate. The athletic program should recruit aggressively for the top white athletes.

The administration will need to take a close look at its administrative practices, procedures and policies. One must remember that a shoddy operation during registration will do nothing but turn the white student away. There is nothing more annoying to any person than to have to put up with administrative errors, conflicting information and being sent around in circles. Remember, prior planning prevents poor performance. Work sessins for persons answering the telephone may be in order. Any person giving directions should be briefed on procedures and should be instructed to use tact especially in dealing with the minority student.

A recent survey of white students on one predominately black campus reveals that they have the same basic needs as the black student. Some of their concerns were:

1. Financial assistance.

2. More white faculty, administrators and clerical staff.

3. Improvement in the academic support services.

4. Improvement in faculty contact and advisement.

5. Residence accommodations.

6. Improvement of clerical attitudes.

7. Improvement in methods of instruction - quality teaching.

8. Up-grading of curricula and course outline.

9. Teaching what is outlined in the course description.

10. Some instructors allow cheating to go on during examinations. This lowers the quality of diplomas and eliminates a very important factor to some students--competition.

No matter how effective and aggressive the recruiters are in trying to accomplish their goals, there is still a barrier to overcome and a variable that slows down the progress in recruiting the white high school graduate. These younger persons will have to overcome the opposition of parents and peers if they want to attend a predominatly black institution. The peer pressure is greater at graduation of high school than any other period in their lives. There will always be a few white students that will accuse the institution of discrimination. However, the people that operate the colleges and universities must be mature and broad-minded enough to look over any criticism and accusations made by these students. The whole process of desegregation will take time and patience.

MORE WHITE STUDENTS ARE ENROLLING IN THE SOUTH'S PUBLIC BLACK INSTITUTIONS

Editor, REGIONAL ACTION

White student enrollment now averages about 10 percent of the total student population in 21 of the South's public black colleges and universities.

An Southern Regional Education Board (SREB) survey of 1976 fall enrollment in those institutions shows eight of these schools exceeding that average and, of 13 others, only five report less than a five percent white student presence on campus.

Furthermore, 18 institutions have increased their white enrollment since SREB's last survey in the fall of 1972.

The 1972 survey concluded that the attitudes and opinions of administrators are influential in determining the effectiveness of recruting white students.

Based on that premise, the 1976 survey questionnaire was directed to the presidents of these traditionally black institutions as well as their students affairs and chief academic officers.

The survey found that geographic location is a factor in recruiting white enrollment. For example, urban black colleges tend to attract more white students than do black institutions in rural areas.

One-third of the institutions participating in the survey are located in rural settings, and their combined fall 1976 white enrollment was just over 1,000. The remaining two-thirds are situated in urban areas and report a combined white student population of about 8,400.

The presence of a community college or a predominantly white state-supported institution within the same geographic area as a black institution has varying affects on white recruitment.

The survey notes, however, that the institution with the highest percentage of white students on campus is not located near another college and has its own community college program in addition to bachelor's and master's degree programs.

Student affairs officers reported general satisfaction with white recruitment efforts on their respective campuses, but did suggest that more effective lines of communication be opened between high school counselors and college officials. They noted that insufficient knowledge about a black college and its programs, may account for counselor reluctance to recommend a black college to white students.

The student affairs group also cited other factors which have been effective in attracting white students:

- The presence of white faculty and staff on campus;
- Weekend and evening scheduling of courses to accommodate the needs of commuting white students;
- Increased participation of white students in a black institution's public relations and recruiting programs;
- Strong emphasis on program quality in publicizing the institution.

In spite of their expressed optimism, black college administrators feel some black institutions are still combating an inferiority image, and that efforts to recruit white students are futile in those communities where unfavorable attitudes still exist.

One vice president for student affairs observed: "Many parents of white students are simply afraid to face criticism from their neighbors despite their beliefs that the black college offers a program of which the parents approve."

To dispel these preconceptions, the survey respondents advocate development of new programs and expansion of existing ones in closer association with community leaders and civic organizations so that the image of the college can become more favorable throughout the community.

With the present increase in white enrollment, the curriculum has expanded somewhat, but is still geared primarily to those programs offering job opportunities for black students. The development of new programs that would attract more white students is a slow and costly process, survey respondents noted.

The survey revealed that there is a hesitancy among academic deans to risk diluting the quality of existing programs which could occur if curriculum expansion were made without additional financial support.

Nevertheless, the administrators agree that the mutual aim of black institutions is to provide programs and services to meet the needs of all students.

One of the survey respondents summarized this point in writing: "The view is that a healthy presence of racial mixes among students, faculty and staff increases the viability of our institution for productive public service.

"But," he added, "the growth and development of this institution, in the sense of new and effective programs and services, are dependent upon federal, state and private support."

Increased participation of white students in social and cultural activities of the black institutions was another need expressed by academic deans, who feel involvement of all faculty, staff and students in these activities would help create a healthy campus climate as well as make a favorable impact upon the community.

The deans cited two factors for the lack of participation among white students in these aspects of college life:

- nearly all white students are commuters, many of them attending evening classes which leave little time on campus outside the classroom;

- approximately 40 percent of these students are in graduate programs and arrange their priorities differently than college age undergraduates.

The deans reported no observable difference in the quality of attention given students of both races, either in the classroom or in student support services.

White faculty recruitment to black campuses is deemed adequate and much more rapid than recruitment of white students, officials report. About 30 percent of the faculty and staff on black campuses today is white.

Presidents of the surveyed black institutions expressed the most concern over keeping those white students who are already enrolled. The problems involved, however, seem no different from those problems related to retaining black students: namely, tutorial services, financial aid, and academic advising. Strengthening these services is listed as the top priority of most black college administrators.

None of the campuses surveyed supported efforts to establish separate educational cultural, or social activities for the different ethnic groups of either faculty or students.

The black college administrators say there is reason for optimism about accelerated enrollment of white students in traditionally black public institutions. They point to the significant numbers of white students who have earned master's degrees from black institutions as one positive indicator.

They feel that the experiences of these adult students will likely serve to neutralize many of the obstacles that have confronted recruiters and admissions personnel, particularly the fear of inferior instruction or lowered academic standards.

INTEGRATION AT ALCORN STATE UNIVERSITY

A Problem of Locational Liability

Vinton M. Prince, Jr.

Alcorn State University is the second oldest public instituiton of higher learning in Mississippi and that state's oldest public college for Blacks. Located outside of Lorman in rural Claiborne County about eighteen miles south-west of Port Gibson, it was established in 1871 on the site of ante-bellum Oakland College. At that time, the campus was convenient to the center of Mississippi's Black population and was a satellite of the then-important river to Alcorn A & M College as it became a Land Grant institution under the original Morrill Act. The present name was adopted in 1974, when all public colleges in Mississippi were designated "universities".[1]

For nearly seventy years Alcorn was the sole public institution providing collegiate training for blacks in Mississippi. As a result, the college combined teacher education and liberal arts programs with its Land Grant functions.[2] Alcorn's monopoly on Black public higher education ended in 1940 when the state assumed control of Jackson College, which became Jackson State University. The third state college for black, Mississippi Valley State University in Itta Bena, was established after World War II.[3]

Initially the collegiate program at Alcorn grew slowly, with only 47 students enrolled in 1923. Beginning in the mid-twenties, however, enrollment in the College grew rapidly. By 1938 there were 393 post-secondary School programs. Before 1930, the majority of students was enrolled in the Secondary School program. As late as 1926 eighty-two percent of the campus population was sub-collegiate, but the rapid growth in the next decade ended this situation.[4] Like many colleges, Alcorn suffered an enrollment decline during the War Years but recovered gradually in the late forties and grew moderately through the fifties. By 1958 the collegiate enrollment was 543. The growth rate picked up in the sixties, with 2261 students in 1969, and continued in this decade, albeit somewhat erratically. There were 3080 students in 1975 and the present student population is about 2700.[5]

Alcorn's image in Mississippi is heavily conditioned by its history and location. As the first and, for many years, the only public Black college it became the premier symbol of the black side of Mississippi's dual system of education. Despite having been outstripped in size and range of programs by Jackson State in recent years, Alcorn remains The Black College for many Mississippians. This historical image is an immediate and serious handicap when attempting to recruit other-race students.

The negative effect of the historical image are compounded by the impact of the college's location. Southwest Mississippi has been in relative decline since the 1970's and in absolute decline since the turn of the Century.[6] Located in a very rural and seriously depopulated region, Alcorn is isolated from the mainstream of Mississippi life. Furthermore, the campus lies seven miles from a main highway on a tertiary road. Tucked away in the woods, it remains

a mystery to many Mississippians, especially whites, who seldom venture on campus. As a result, Alcorn is remarkably unknown despite its age and high degree of name-recognition.[7] Nearly all Mississippians have heard of Alcorn and know it as a black college, but many have no real idea of its actual nature. It remains, then, a small, old, and intensely black school somewhere off in the distance with few specific virtues and one mammoth traditional stigma for whites.

In recent times, Alcorn has also suffered from a negative adacemic image. Any black college in Mississippi has difficulties on this point when trying to deal with whites, but in Alcorn's case the problem goes beyond simple prejudice. The expansion of the sixties coupled with the vastly increased competition for black students led to a dilution of student quality at Alcorn. Justifiably or not, the school acquired a reputation among both races as a weak institution that turned out too many unqualified graduates. This attitude introduced an added liability for all recruiting efforts.[8]

Historically, whites excluded from Alcorn by law, both as professors and as students. Since the demise of formal segregation in Mississippi the College has been able to attract a small number of non-black students, but today it remains one of the least integrated public black colleges. In 1976 Alcorn reported 21 other-race students, or 0.78% of the total enrollment.[9] That percentage will increase for 1977-78 due to the acquisition of a Natchez Nursing Program formerly administered by the University of Southern Mississippi, but on-campus other-race enrollment will not change significantly.

White enrollment at Alcorn has been well under half of the non-black total since integration began. The majority of other-race students is Indian and Pakistani, primarily dependents and relatives of faculty members. Some white enrollment comes from faculty families as well, but the incidence is much lower. Thus far, white students at Alcorn have come from a variety of sources and no definite pattern has emerged among them. Their number to date is so modest that little significance can be attached to their characteristics. In 1976-77, Alcorn's white students included: full and part-time students from nearby areas, mostly commuting; a boarding student from another part of the state; a few public school teachers working on graduate degrees at night; faculty dependents; and an out-of-state transfer student best characterized as an "adventurer". In May, 1977, Alcorn awarded its first degree to a white, conferring an M.Ed. in Secondary English on the wife of a professor.

Geographic and demographic factors play a major role in determining an institution's ability to recruit a given type of student. Unlike attitudes, which are obviously important to the process, these influences are very difficult to modify by one's own actions or to overcome. White Mississippians can be persuaded to attend a traditionally black college today, but convincing these persons to attend Alcorn State University is a quite different and more difficult matter. Alcorn's task is much more formitable than Jackson State's, where other-race enrollment is 16.1%, primarily because of the University's location and the nature of the population in its immediate area.[10]

Students attend a particular college for reasons of prestige, program, cost, and convenience. For the time being, no black institution in Mississippi can recruit whites on prestige; the University of Mississippi has a comfortable monopoly on that factor over all the public colleges even before the race question arises. Programs can and do attract white students to black schools, but

virtually all programs available on black campuses are duplicated at one or more white institutions. Cost and convenience, whch are closely related, thus become the main recruiting points for the black school seeking white students.

Aside from a few truly national prestige institutions, most American colleges and universities draw a majority of their students from a defininte and limited geographical area. Such localized enrollment is very evident in the South, and Mississippians are notoriously home-bound.[11] For this reason, any public college in the state looks to its immediate environs for a substantial portion of its students. If a black college is convenient, it will be able to attract some white students who desire to attend school near home or in an area they deem attractive. Traditional attitudes work against black institutions being perceived as convenient, but as attitudes moderate a favorable location becomes an increasingly important recruiting factor. Under the present fee structure in Mississippi, all black schools are attractive in terms of costs, and this reinforces geographical convenience.

White attitudes toward blacks and black colleges are not uniform across Mississippi. In general, there is more resistance to attending black schools in the smaller and more rural counties. Mississippi is steadily becoming more urban and less black, and atittudes have softened the most in the less tradition-bound standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. For the next decade, at least, these SMSA's should be the best recruiting grounds for black colleges seeking white students.

Most of the economic and population growth in Mississippi since World War II has been concentrated in the Jackson area and along the Gulf Coast. Outside these two SMSA's much of the state has experienced absolute population loss and relative economic decline. Hinds (Jackson), Harrison (Gulfport & Biloxi), and Jackson (Pascagoula) Counties today account for nearly 20% of Mississippi's population and have the largest pools of potential college students. They also contain a disproportionate number of persons between 18 and 20, being the receiving ground for much of the intrastate migration in Mississippi.[12]

An inconvenient location makes it very difficult for Alcorn State University to recruit white students from these prime areas. Biloxi, for example, is well over 200 highway miles from Alcorn over largely secondary roads. The University of South Mississippi, a traditionally white shcoool, is only 80 miles away on a major highway. Furthermore, U.S.M. maintains a branch campus on the Gulf Coast at Long Beach to serve the area's part-time students, Jackson is only about 85 miles from Alcorn, again by mediocre roads. Here, however, Alcorn must compete with hometown Jackson State University, and few white students willing to attend a black shcool will have little or no reason to leave the state's one metropolis for Lorman. Alrocn does have an Agriculture program unavailable at either Jackson State or U.S.M., but there is slight demand for it among students from the "urban" areas.

In addition to being inconvenient to the SMSA's in Mississippi, Alcorn State lacks any substantial block of potential white students within its immediate hinterland, or "convenience zone". A college's "convenience zone" is that area where it is the most convenient institution for residents to attend and this region can be expected to produce the largest single block of students for the college. Fifty miles seems to constitute the maximum practical commuting distance for part-time students and day students, and one hundred miles the

range for greatest effectiveness in recruiting residential students. Alcorn's "convenience zone" has several drawbacks as a source of white students. The University's hinterland is extremely rural, heavily black, particularly deficient in young whites, very segregated in sub-collegiate education, and geographically truncated. These factors combine to make it extremely difficult to attract a significant number of white students on the basis of convenience, the black college's strongest single recruiting point in Mississippi today.

In 1870 9.3% of all Mississippians lived in the six southwestern counties (Adams, Claiborne, Jefferson, Franklin, Wilkinson and Amite), but today these account for a mere 4% of the state's population. The region has lost population continuously since 1900. Alcorn State University, therefore, is increasingly the regional institution for a dying region. The only cities within 100 miles of Alcorn with populations over 15,000 are Jackson, Vicksburg, and Natchez. Jackson, of course, lies within the "convenience zone" of Jackson State. Vicksburg both closer and more accessible to Jackson than to Alcorn, leaving Natchez (population 19,700) the only city clearly within Alcorn's hinterland. The southwestern counties are small, with the largest (Adams) ranking 15th in the state. The three counties closest to Alcorn are extremely small: Claiborne ranks 71st, Jefferson 74th, and Franklin 80th out of 82, and none has a population of 11,000. All the southwestern counties lost population between 1960 and 1970 and, with the possible exception of Adams, can be expected to show a loss for this decade.[13]

Alcorn's hinterland is heavily black and, unlike the state, has maintained a fairly stable and racial composition in this Century. While this is convenient for a black college seeking black students, it seriously limits the supply of local whites. Jefferson County (75.3%) and Claiborne County (74.6%) are the two "Blackest" counties in the state. The white counties in the southwest are either too small to provide many students, as in the case of Franklin County (38.8%) blacks, or only marginally white (Adams, 51.9% white) and thus lacking large numbers of prospective white college students. This combination of a small total population and a high percentage of blacks in that population produces a minimal number of whites living conveniently close to Alcorn. In 1970 the total white population of Claiborne, Jefferson, and Adams Counties, which are Alcorn's major sources of students today, was only 4863.14.

In Mississippi, and particularly in the counties with black majorities, the percentage of young blacks in the population is higher than the overall percentage for blacks. Statewide, Mississippi is 36.8% black overall but 45% black among persons below age 15. There are, therefore, even fewer potential white students in Alcorn's hinterland than the raw population figures indicate. The school aged population of Claiborne and Jefferson Counties exceeds 80% black, while "white" Adams County is over 54% black for this group. Recruiting whites for Alcorn on convenience is thus doubly difficult, for there are few whites to begin with and even fewer of college age. in 1970, the total juvenile white population of Claiborne and Jefferson Counties was slightly over 1100.[15]

Whites in Alcorn's hinterland continue to be ardent supporters of private and segregated elementary and secondary schools, and the southwestern public school systems remain massively black. There are but a handful of whites in the public schools in Claiborne, Jefferson, and Wilkinson Counties. Adams County has the highest level of white public school enrollment, with about 40% white. Nevertheless, there are three successful twelve-grade private schools

in Natchez. Several public schools, including one high school, are almost totally black. Amite County had, unitl this year, maintained a relatively large white public school enrollment by resorting to a unique system of segregating students by sex.[16] The sub-collegiate educational environment in Alcorn's hinterland, then, is clearly far from conducive to recruiting white students for a black college. In the southwest, a white who attends Alcorn must turn his back on his home, community and its strong traditions. But students who attend a college for convenience are seldom seeking to cut ties with home. Rather, they are often attempting to preserve them, both physically and psychologically. Attending Alcorn is an act of communal rebellion for southwestern whites, and thus regional attitudes seriously undermine the appeal of geographic propinquity.

The final disadvantage of Alcorn's hinterland is its truncated nature. Situated a few miles from the Mississippi River, Alcorn has no hinterland to the west. What would normally be prime recruiting territory for all types of students is lost to Louisiana. The border destroys the cost attraction while the River poses a major physical barrier that destroys convenience. There is ferry service near the campus, but this is unreliable and does not operate at night. Thus, it is extremely difficult for students to commute from the west[17] Louisiana also takes a sizeable portion of Alcorn's southern hinterland, an area where one could otherwise expect to draw a reasonable number of boarding students.

In addition to being limited in potential white students, Alcorn's hinterland is not exclusive. All areas of Mississippi within 100 air miles of Alcorn are also within that distance of Jackson State, save the scantily populated western corners of Wilkinson and Adams Counties. Because their hinterlands overlap, Alcorn must compete with Jackson State for convenience students in most of its own baliwick.[18] When considering a black school, a white student from Alcorn's "convenience zone" can also give serious consideration to Jackson State. There he can find a wider range of programs, an urban environment, a chance for part-time employment, and far more fellow white students to share his situation.

In all recruiting, Alcorn State must compete with seven other public senior colleges, five being traditionally white. All are officially Universities, but the three with something approximating university-level programs are white: the University of Mississippi, Mississippi State University, and the University of Southern Mississippi. "Ole Miss" is the traditional liberal arts and prestige school. Mississippi State is the White Land Grant institution, serving the eastern part of the state traditionally. The University of Southern Mississippi began as a Normal School for the south and is still quite regional. The smaller white schools are Misssippi University for Women and Delta State University. The former continues the dying southern tradition of public women's colleges while the latter was established to train teachers for the Northwest. The other black schools are Jackson State University and Mississippi Valley State University, which serves Delta Blacks. All Mississippi colleges rely heavily on in-state students, and thus Alcorn must compete for white students with all except Mississippi Valley State University, which is even less integrated than Alcorn.[19]

Jackson State University, with over 1200 other-race students in 1976-77, proves that a black college in Mississippi can attain a significant degree of integration. Its ability to do this, however, results from a combination of

location and programs that Alcorn cannot match or copy. As the only public college located in the state's capital and major city, Jackson State has the advantage of an urban environment. Only University of Southern Mississippi in Hattiesburg among public colleges has been even a remotely urban setting. Jackson State is also relatively new, large, and equipped to offer a wide range of modern programs. These features are positive advantages which, coupled with location, help overcome the "black college phobia" prevalent in potential white students. Jackson State's white students tend to be older and more independent than "regular" college freshman, often living off-campus and attending college part-time. Jackson is the one place in Mississippi where this type of white young adult exists in great numbers where there is also a public college. Jackson State is simply in the right place to attract white students today, convenient in both locale and structure for whites who want to be near Jackson and want or need to pursue college work.

Mississippi is also well endowed, if not overrun, with public Junior Colleges. Of the seventeen, fourteen are traditionally white and several of these have multiple campuses.[20] They substantially reduce the pool of whites who might be available for the black schools by providing a "satisfactory", i.e., white, alternative besides the white universities. All the traditionally white four year institutions in Mississippi now requires an ACT score of 15 for admission. Without the extensive Junior College network, whites making a lower score would be forced to turn to the black campuses, where the minimum ACT requirement is 9. Since the two year institutions have no ACT requirement, however, they can serve as a safety-valve and hold down the pressure on whites to attend a black college.

Because of the spacing of Mississippi's colleges and also due to their rather large number, whites living within Alcorn's "convenience zone" have too many alternatives sources of higher education to make proximity and adequate recruiting device or to overcome old hostilities and contemporary anxieties. University of Southern Mississippi draws well from the eastern side of Alcorn's hinterland, while whites in the river counties of the southwest traditionally patronize the University of Mississippi. For the student without an ACT of 15 or desiring to stay near home, Hinds and Copiah-Lincoln Junior Colleges are convenient to much of Alcorn's region. Copiah-Lincoln also maintans a campus in Natchez which cuts into Alcorn's recruiting of both Blacks and Whites. There is also an upper division and graduate branch of U.S.M. in Narchez, with similar effect. In the southern part of Alcorn's hinterland Louisiana State University exerts a strong pull on whites (and, or that matter, Southern University offers competition for blacks). Finally, if a south-western white does opt for a black school, Jackson State is a powerful attraction, being nearly as convenient and generally more attractive.

To attract students, a college must offfer sufficient apositive inducements to overcome its particular negative traits. Proximity to the student's home is almost always an advantage, while distance is usually a drawback. Due to its sparsely settled and largely black hinterland, Alcorn State University has to provide considerable incentives to attract students to a remote corner of Mississippi and to an isolated campus. For white students, these will have to be in the area of academic programs and performance due to the absence of the positive historical and emotional thies that attract blacks. Alcorn's "product" has to be either different or "better" than what the student can

obtain elsewhere on a more convenient or socially acceptable campus to make recruiting a success. Unfortunately, beyond Agriculture and perhaps Home Economics there is little at Alcorn not readily available at most other senior colleges in the state. Alcorn is still something of a Teachers College, and that is not particularly unique in 1977.

The new Nursing Program based in Natchez represents a major step toward diversification at Alcorn and will certainly increase both total and white enrollment. It may also be a first step toward the use of Branch Programs in area cities. Off-campus programs promise to be the best way to reach the part-time and commuting student "markets", which will yield a higher percentage of whites. The main campus is simply too distant from population concentration to attract large numbers of this type of students.[21]

Expansion through Branches requires the approval of the State Board of Higher Education and how permissive it will be remains to be seen. When the Board transferred the Natchez Nursing Program it allowed University of Southern Mississippi to maintain the rest ot its Natchez Branch, although there is some doubt about the long-term fate of that Program.[22] If Alcorn is allowed to absorb the full Natchez operation and take over the rather moribund Mississippi State University program in Vicksburg and is permitted to begin offering courses in Brookhaven and McComb, the Branch approach can be expected to produce a steady rise in white enrollment. Either way, however, white enrollment on the main campus will not increase significantly unless drastic changes occur.

The Federal bureaucracy and judiciary may well control the fate of integration at Alcorn State, either directly or indirectly. Through direct action or Board response to their policies, these forces can either accelerate the rate of integration or permit the current situation to continue. Pressure from Washington might well lead to a reallocation of programs within the Mississippi system to encourage enrollment at black campuses. The idea of attaching "sending districts" to each campus, with all persons in a given area being required to attend a specific college at least for the first two years has also been raised, although it is not something Mississippi will do voluntarily.

Court of Health, Education, and Welfare Department pressure may also force Alcorn to begin to recruit whites more vigorously. During the seventies the University has made a sincere effort to attract whites, even going so far as to employ a white recuiter. The door has been open, but there has not been a systematic and determined campaign to recruit whites the way the institution pursues athletes, for example. As black public colleges find it both prudent and necessary to enroll more whites, a determined campaign of this sort may well be the key to institutional survival. At present, Alcorn State is so far behind most public black colleges in integrating its student body that it is in an exposed and potentially dangerous situation in the coming years.[23]

Barring Draconian realignments of higher education in Mississippi or a sharp legal or administrative attack on Alcorn itself, integration at Alcorn will remain slight and will depend primarily on the growth of Branch Programs. The college is poorly located to recruit white students to the main campus in significant numbers. Coupled with its indistinctive and often undistinguished programs and historic position as Mississippi's traditional black college, this locational liability makes integrating Alcorn a slow and difficult process.

Few whites in Mississippi WANT to attend Alcorn and few NEED to do so. Until and unless their NEED increase sharply, the lack of desire will ensure that this oldest of Black Land Grant colleges remains one of America's blackest public colleges.

FOOTNOTES

[1]M. G. Dunham, A Centennial History of Alcorn A & M College, (Hattiesburg, MS., University Press of Mississippi, 1971) provides a modest introduction to the history of the institution.

[2]Mississippi Board of Trustees of State Institutions of Higher Learning, Mississippi Study of Higher Education, 1945 (Jackson, MS., 1945), also known as "Gibson Report". A. J. Klein, Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities (Washington, Department of the Interior Bulletin 1928, no. 7, 1929), pp. 403, 418.

[3]R. A. McLemore, "Higher Education in the Twentieth Century", in R. A. McLemore (ed.), A History of Misissippi, Vol. II (Jackson, MS., University Press of Mississippi, 1973), 434-38), 441-42.

[4]P. Klein, W. J. Greenleaf, Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, 1928, (Washington, Department of the Interior Bulletin 1929, no. 13, 1929), p. 69, D. T. Bose, Statistics of Education of the Negro Race, 1925-26, (Washington, Department of the Interior Bulletin 1928, no. 19, 1928), pp. 19, 31.

[5]V. M. Prince, Enrollment Patterns at Alcorn State University, 1940-1975 (Lorman, MS., Alcorn State University Office of Institutional Research, 1976).

[6]Division of Research, College of Business and Industry, Mississippi State University, Mississippi Statistical Abstracts, 1975 (Mississippi State, MS., Mississippi State University, 1975), pp. 40-42.

[7]For a sampling of recent attitudes toward Alcorn State, see the Natchez Democrat, January 15, 1976, and May-August, 1977. In July of 1977 Alcorn State arranged a campus tour for "community leaders" from Natchez to acquaint them with the campus and its facilities.

[8]See comments in the Natchez Democrat, May-August, 1977, in the "Letters to the Editor" and "Top o' the Morning" columns written by citizens regarding the transfer of the U.S.M. - Natchez Nursing Program to Alcorn. These graphically reflect prevailing attitudes about Alcorn's academic standing.

[9]J. W. Williams, Other-race Enrollment at Public Black Colleges an Universities, (Lorman, MS., Alcorn State University Office of Institutional Research, 1977).

[10]Ibid.

[11]Natchez Demorcat, January 15, 1976. See also, Natchez Democrat, 1971-73 for accounts of a protracted campaign to secure a full four-year degree granting branch of U.S.M. in Natchez. Public college locations clearly reflect the prevailing regionalism, especially when viewed from the original segregationist perspective. The apparent bias against the Southwest in the White colleges system is illusory. The Southwest was a planter region and was served by the University of Mississippi, which was reasonably convenient when the River was the primary transportation route.

[12]Mississippi Statistical Abstracts, 1965, pp. 34-37, 40-42, 69, 80. See also, R. D. Cross and R. W. Wales (eds.), Atlas of Mississippi (Jackson, MS., University Press of Mississippi, 1974), pp. 54, 57, 59, 60.

[13]Mississippi Statistical Abstracts, 1975, pp. 40-42. Southwest Mississippi is defined here as Adams, Amite, Claiborne, Franklin, Jefferson, and Wilkinson Counties. In a purely physical sense one might also include Copiah, Lincoln and Pike Counties, but these in fact belong to other human-economic regions. The six counties include were the first area of settlement and part of the plantation economy. Farther east, geographical differences encouraged yeoman agriculture. Amite and Franklin Counties are in some respects a zone of transition between the yeoman-dominated Piney Woods and the planter-controlled areas along the Mississippi River.

[14]Mississippi Statistical Abstracts, 1975, pp. 49-53.

[15]Ibid., pp. 54-67.

[16]Smith Sparks, Public School Enrollment, 1974-75 (Jackson, MS., State Department of Education, 1975). Smith Sparks, Nonpublic School, 1974-75 Jackson, MS., State Department of Education, 1975).

[17]For the problems with the Port Givson-St. Joseph Ferry service, see the Port Gibson Reveille, February-June 1973, March-May 1974, January-July, 1977.

[18]See Maps I and II.

[19]Williams, Other-race Enrollment. For information about the several public colleges in Mississippi see McLemore, History of Mississippi, II, pp. 415-45.

[20]Cross and Wales, Atlas of Mississippi, pp. 73-77. See also, McLemore, History of Mississippi, II, pp. 423-26.

[21]Alcorn State University, Long-Range Plan, Matrix I (Lorman, MS., 1976.)

[22]Natchez Democrat, June-July, 1977. Personal interviews with U.S.M. Natchez faculty and administrators, April-July, 1977.

[23]Williams, Other-race Enrollment. Alcorn State ranked thirty-third among thirty-four public Black colleges in percentage of other-race enrollment in 1976. The average non-Black enrollment was 13.2% and the mean was 9.3%. The rate at Alcorn State was 0.7%.

FIFTY MILE RADIUS COMMUTING ZONES

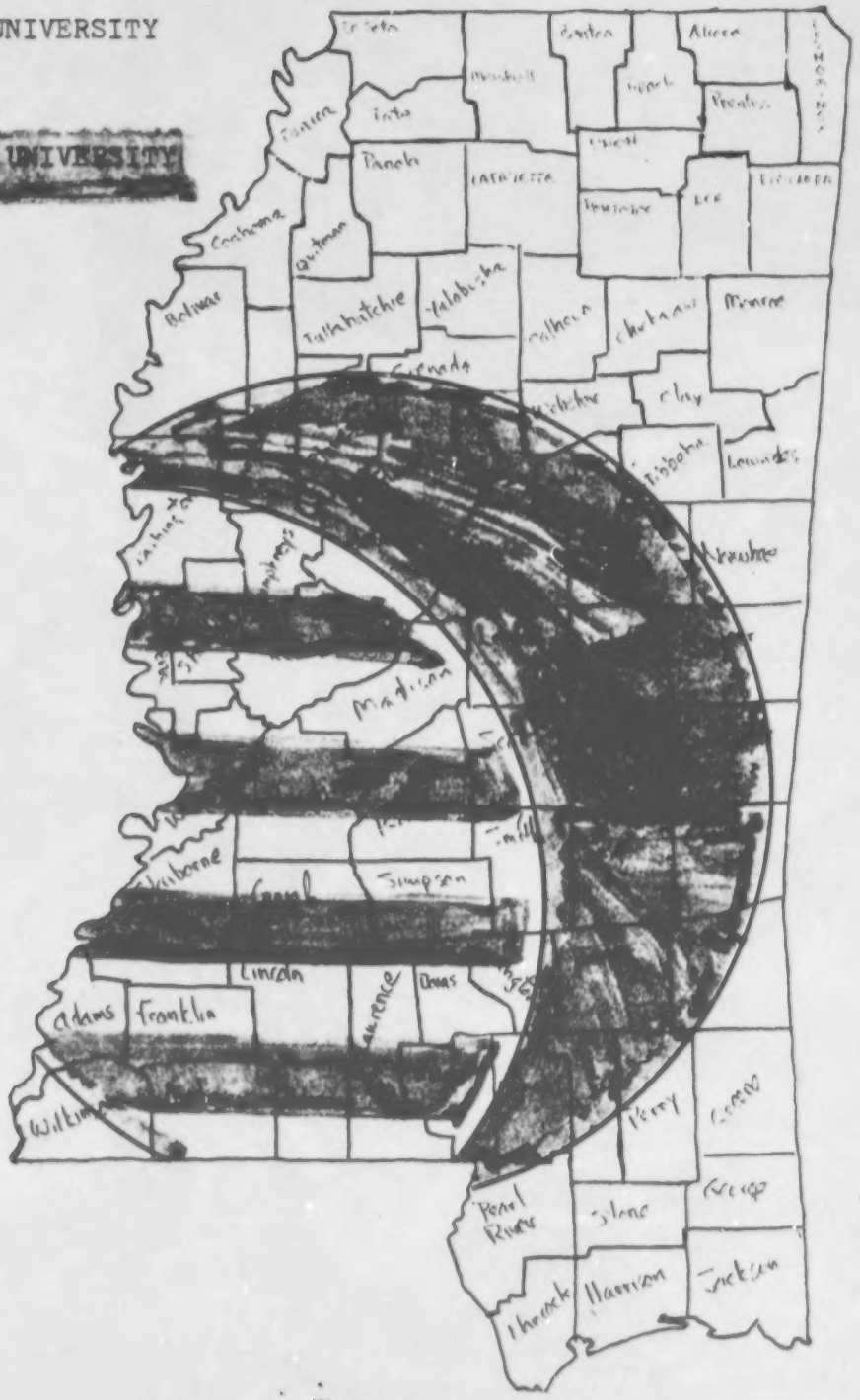
ALCORN STATE UNIVERSITY

JACKSON STATE UNIVERSITY

ONE HUNDRED MILE RADIUS CONVENIENCE ZONES

ALCORN STATE UNIVERSITY

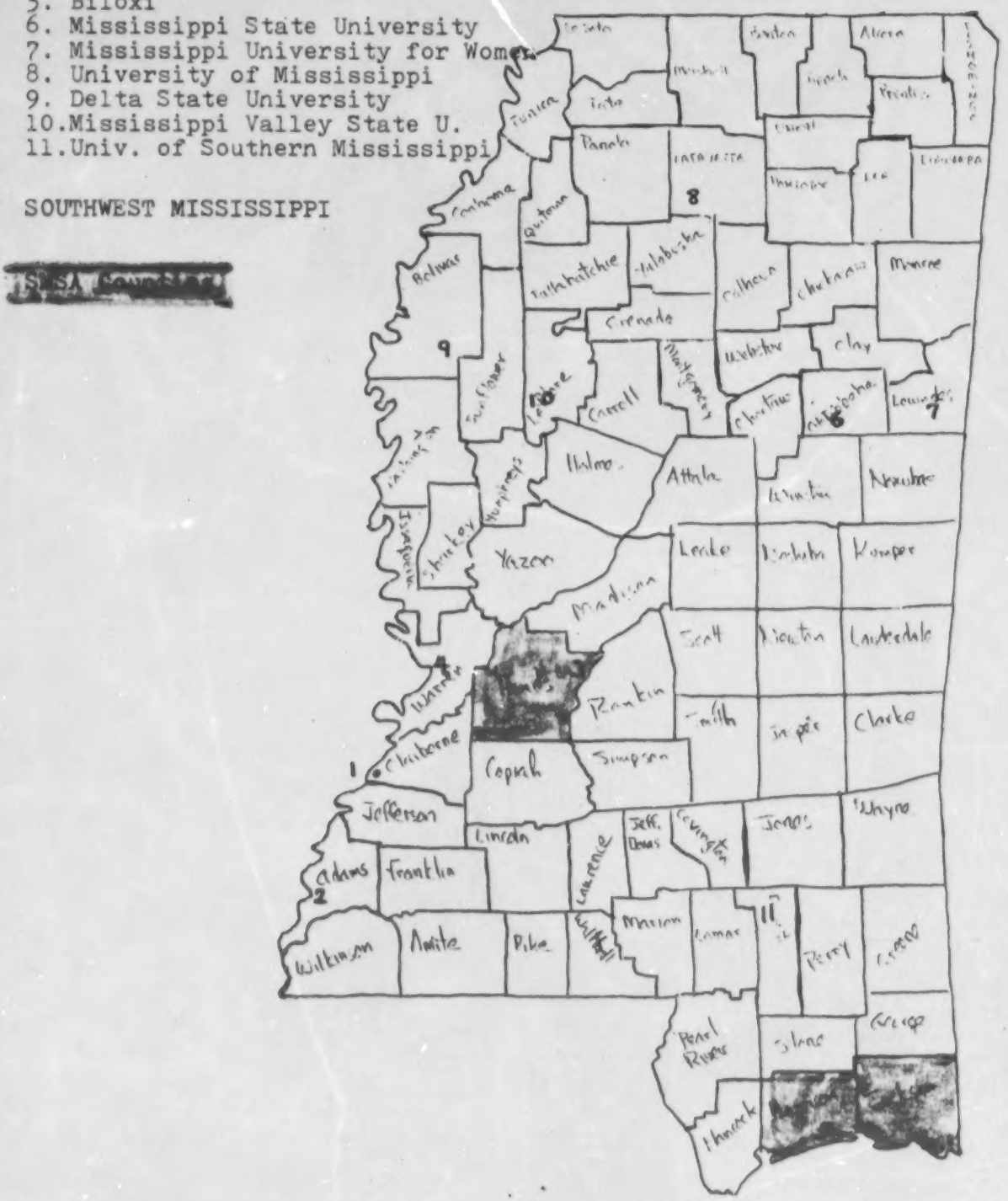
JACKSON STATE UNIVERSITY



Places Named in Text

1. Alcorn State University
2. Natchez
3. Jackson/Jackson State University
4. Vicksburg
5. Biloxi
6. Mississippi State University
7. Mississippi University for Women
8. University of Mississippi
9. Delta State University
10. Mississippi Valley State U.
11. Univ. of Southern Mississippi

SOUTHWEST MISSISSIPPI



PROBABLE EFFECTS OF HEW'S PROPORTIONAL ENROLLMENT DIRECTIVE

Charles I. Brown and Moses S. Walker

The purpose of this pilot study was to ascertain the opinion of college students about the probable effect the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Executive Order #11246 would have on changing the outlook and character of institutions of higher education having very small student enrollments (2000 or less). The scope of the inquiry was confirmed to that portion of the HEW directive that requires all institutions of higher education to adjust the racial composition of their student enrollment to levels more proportionate to the racial mix of the geographical areas in which the institutions are located.[1]

Methodology

The scope of this pilot study was further limited to two very small institutions of higher education located in Fayetteville, North Carolina. One of the schools, Fayetteville State University, a public tax-supported institution historically created for black people in 1877, had at the time of the survey (Spring Semester 1973-74) 1650 students on its main campus. The racial composition of this student population was 97.5 percent Black, 2.0 percent White, 0.3 percent American Indian, and 0.0 percent for student of Oriental extraction and for those having Spanish surnames. The younger and smaller of Fayetteville's institutions authorized to grant baccalaureate degrees is Methodist College. Methodist opened its doors to students in 1960 to a predominantly white clientele and is, as its name implies, a private sectarian institution. At the time of the investigation, Methodist had a student enrollment of 650, racially composed of 93.6 percent White, 5.0 percent Black, 0.9 percent Spanish surnamed, 0.3 percent Oriental, and 0.0 percent American Indian.[2]

Prior to a presentation of the opinions of students at these two institutions relative to the probable effect of HEW's racial guidelines for institutions of higher education note should be made of the fact these several pages are but a concision of a much voluminous report put together as a cooperative project by a Business Statistics class.

If by the mention of a "Business Statistic Class" a small wonderment has been raised as to why students in a Business Statistics Class undertook this project rather than something more overtly akin to business and/or industry, a multifaceted response would be required. The first is that one of the course requirements of Business Statistics is to mount an inquiry among some selected segment of Fayetteville's business enterprises and or consumer groups each semester. These studies usually tackle problems germane to business statistics such as those having to do with marketing and distribution student income and its impact on the Fayetteville economy, consumer preference, etc., but this time around the interest of the students had been whetted by the publication of The White Student on the Black Campus,[3] and by the fact that the author of the publication was known to the student. A second and even more compelling reason was the issuance of corrective guidelines by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare designed to offset the enrollment discrepancies foisted

upon "other races" by both traditionally black and white institutions of higher education. Thirdly, the instructor of the class in yielding to the interest of the class, reasoned that statistics were statistics, i.e., that the competencies he wanted shown by the students in statistical procedures and analyses could be won just as easily with a project in education as with a business and/or industry related topic and the interest of the students which would be catered too in the bargain.

In enthusiastic response to a project of their own interest and choosing and to the instructor's faith in them, the class of student investigators constructed a twenty-five item questionnaire and for a time even considered polling the entire student bodies of Fayetteville State University and Methodist College, a population of roughly 2,300 students, but cooler heads and the objectives of the class and the investigation entered upon persuaded them that a smaller sampling of the whole would be more appropriate. The wisdom of this decision was later very markedly demonstrated by the return of 127 usably questionnaires (82%) of the 150 randomly distributed. Following a tabulation and analysis of the data received, a more voluminous report of the investigation was written up by the students themselves, as reported above, so reproduced here, in truncated form, are the findings of the study along with a modified version of the questionnaire employed in the survey.

Results

1. Fifty-three percent of the student respondents were male; 47 percent were females.

2. Fifty-seven percent of the students were 17-21 years old; 30 percent were 22-26 years old; 5 percent were 27-31 years old; and 8 percent were 32 years and older.

3. Seventy-six percent of the respondents were black; 24 percent were white.

4. Seven percent of respondents were freshmen; 23 percent were sophmores; 42 percent were juniors; and 28 percent were seniors.

5. When the above students were asked whether they thought HEW's "proportional enrollment policy" would improve race relationship at the institution they attended:

   Sixty-four percent of the respondents thought that HEW's policy would improve race relationship; 36 percent thought it would not.

6. When asked whether an increase in federal funding would offset the effects of traditional power-holding groups having less control over very small institutions of higher education:

   Sixty-five percent of the respondents thought that it would; 35 percent disagreed.

7. When asked what would be the effect of HEW's "proportional enrollment policy" on a degree from a traditionally very small black or white institution of higher education:

Twenty-seven percent indicated that it would have no effect; 40% percent felt the degree would be made more prestigious; 2 percent indicated less prestigious, while 31 percent were undecided.

8. When asked whether compliance with HEW's new policy would have a positive or negative influence on the educational quality of the traditionally very small institution:

   Fifty-five percent indicated the HEW's policy would have a positive influence; 19 percent indicated it would have a negative influence; 14 percent were undecided and 12 percent had no comment.

9. When asked whether the very small black institution or the very small white institution would benefit the most from HEW's "proportional enrollment policy":

   Sixty-two percent of the respondents said the very small black institution would; 26 percent said that the very small white institution would; 6 percent were undecided and 6 percent had no comment.

10. When asked whether HEW's "proportional enrollment policy" was form of forced integration:

    Seventy-two percent of the respondents thought that it was; 17 percent disagreed; 7 percent were undecided and 4 percent made no comments.

11. As to whether a significant increase in white enrollment would lead to further white dominance of black institution of higher education:

    Fifty-two percent felt that it would; 33 percent disagreed; 10 percent were undecided and 5 percent had no comment.

12. When asked their opinion about proportional enrollment along racial lines in relationship to federal funding:

    Forty-two percent of the respondents opted for an increase in proportional enrollment and an increase in federal funding; 21 percent preferred the present levels of both; 20 percent were undecided and 17 percent had no comment.

13. As to whether increased integration of schools would encourage interracial dating and marriage:

    Forty-eight percent indicated yes; 34 percent indicated no; 12 percent were undecided and 5 percent had no comment.

14. Would HEW's policy cause ethnic and religious groups to become less conscious of their heritage:

    Twenty-two percent indicated yes; 61 percent indicated no; 11 percent were undecided and 6 percent had no comment.

15. Would the integration of formerly all black or white institutions affect the number of blacks attending very small colleges:

    Fifty-three percent believed that it would; 33 percent thought it would not; 8 percent were undecided and 5 percent had no comment.

16. Would the integration of formerly all black or white institutions affect the number of whites attending very small colleges:

    Forty-five percent thought that it would; 36 percent thought it would not; 14 percent were undecided and 5 percent had no comment.

17. When asked whether they thought that whites were generally against attending formerly all black colleges:

    Seventy-two percent indicated yes; 20 percent indicated no; 6 percent were undecided and 2 percent had no comment.

18. When asked whether the racial integration of institutions of higher education was necessary to insure a minimal level of adequacy and quality:

    Forty-one percent thought it was necessary; 43 percent believed it was not; 11 percent were undecided and 5 percent had no comment.

19. Would integration cause more competition between the races in the classroom:

    Sixty-four percent indicated that it would; 20 percent thought it would not; 9 percent were undecided and 7 percent had no comment.

20. When asked how would increased integration affect the entrance requirements of the formerly very small predominantly white institutions:

    Thirty-eight percent indicated no effect; 33 percent indicated higher entrance requirements; 13 percent indicated lower ones and 16 percent were undecided.

21. When asked the obverse side of the question, i.e., how would increased integration affect the entrance requirements of the formerly very small predominantly black institutions:

    Thirty-eight percent indicated no effect; 50 percent indicated higher entrance requirements; 3 percent indicated lower ones and 13 percent were undecided.

22. In those schools which normally have a few minority group students, will participation in athletics by minority group students, increase as a result of HEW's policy:

    Fifty-one percent indicated that it would increase; 28 percent thought it would not; 15 percent were undecided and 6 percent had no comment.

23. When asked whether HEW's policy would help to remove stereotyped attitudes from the minds of blacks and whites about each other:

    Fifty-two percent thought it would help; 34 percent indicated it would not; 9 percent were undecided and 6 percent had no comment.

24. When asked how would the administrative policies of the traditionally very small white institution be affected by HEW's requirements:

    Fifty-eight percent indicated an increase recruitment of blacks; 22 percent indicated greater fairness in the valuation of blacks, and 20 percent indicated increased financial assistance to blacks.

25. When asked what will be the effects of a racially integrated classroom:

    Twenty-nine percent indicated subjects would continue to be taught from a white-oriented perspective; 4 percent indicated a black-oriented perspective; 57 percent indicated that whenever applicable, the subject matter content in a racially balanced classroom would be taught from a combined black/white perspective; 10 percent were undecided.

Discussion

After taking into account all of the findings cited above and full recovery having been made from the effects of the project's most surprising discovery -- that proportional enrollment at Methodist College was a shade more compatible with HEW's Executive Order #11246 than was proportional enrollment at Fayetteville State University -- the student investigators were of practically one opinion in believing that the probability was large that HEW's proportional enrollment policy would indeed bring about a change in the outlook and character of the two very small institutions of higher education included in this study. That a fairly unanimously reached conclusion would be one of the outcomes of this study was in and of itself hardly a surprise. Despite their youth, the investigators were not race students intruding on campuses that had hitherto been the exclusive preserve of students of a different and majority-race-to say nothing of the significant increase called for by HEW -- had oftentimes in the recent past been sufficient cause for unbridled prejudicial emotions. What was surprising about the conclusion reached was that the change as seen by the students would be in a positive direction.

This conclusion, albeit contrary to usual expectations, finds support in the very positive attitudes of a student majority who responded to three categories of questions. The first category was a pastiche of questions that related best to the outlook of the very small institutions of higher education. Symbolic of the affirmative stance of the respondents to this category of questions were the 64 percent who expressed the conviction that HEW's proportional enrollment policy would be enhancing of race relationship; the 55 percent who indicated that HEW's policy would have a positive influence on the educational quality of the traditionally very small institution; and the selection of the traditionally very small black institution as the principal beneficiary of the HEW directive by an imposing 62 percent. The foregoing are but a few of several cautiously interpreted indicies that the blatant racism and venomous

rhetoric that were formerly so characteristic of the American College scene are slowly yieldng to the more tolerant attitudes of a new college generation.

Lending further credence to the conclusion that overt signs of racism among college students attending two very small institutions of higher education is of lesser dimension today than in former times was the overwhelming affirmative action type response given to a second category of questions. Questions comprising this category were presumed to be relevant to the probability of change in the character of the institutions under study. Here again, 65 percent of the respondents thought that an increase in federal funding would offset the effects of traditional power-holding groups having less control over the very small institution; a whopping 67 percent thought that HEW's proportional enrollment policy would have either no effect or a more prestigious effect on a degree from their institution; and the recognition by 41 percent of the number polled that racial integration was a necessary expedient to insure a minimal level of educational quality at very small institutions of higher education and ideally at all institutions of higher education.

But perhaps the clincher to the unanimous acceptance of the conclusion that proportional enrollment would in all probability lead a very small institutions in a positive direction was the reaction accorded a proposed anxiety-producing third set of questions. Notable in this regard was the candor that marked the response to these questions and the equanimity with which these responses were met by the student investigators. In other words, emotion-laden questions were purposely included to raise the hackels of those being polled, but this ploy failed miserably in its intent as only a comparative few rose to the bait. Here again, the response made by an overwhelming majority of the students was a reflection or the candor, reasoning and toleration that had guided the response of the pollees to the first two categories of questions.

To make the point, it was candor that prompted 72 of the students polled to honestly conclude that HEW's proportional enrollment policy, despite its admirable intent, was a form of forced integration; and that too significant increase in the number of white students enrolled would further the dominance of white control over black institutions. In substantiation of the above, it may be conjectured that these admissions were tempered by an acquiescence on the students polled to the realities of the 1970's. It may be further conjectured that among the several realities given assent are two that are especially deserving of mention in this particualr context. Note may be made first of the students' rather courageous willingness to face up to the fact that the segregation of college students on the basis of race is even less fashionable or permissable today than it was in former times. Secondly, note should be made of the equally courageous, albeit equally belated, recognition of the perennially ill disguised fact that a much more generous slice of the financial pie budgeted for higher education has always followed the white student to whatever institution he chooses to attend. Putting aside any emotion or perference that would run counter to the speculation that racism among college students today is more muted than ever before, the evidence is fairly convincing that a majority of the students polled where supportive of the premise that racial integration in general and proportional enrollment in particular were necessary judicial and economic tactics, if a minimal level of collegial quality is to be an assurance for any and all who chose to attend college. In

carry of this line of reasoning, proportional enrollment according to these students will in the final analysis prove to be more helpful to the character and outlook of the two very small institutions of higher education they attend than harmful.

THE COLLEGE ENVIRONMENT AS PERCEIVED BY BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS AT SELECTED INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE STATE OF ALABAMA

John Baker, Jr.

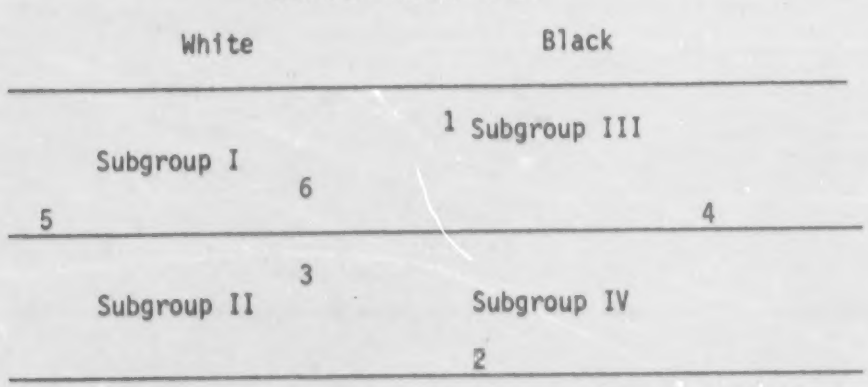
Introduction

One of the studies originally proposed for inclusion in our overall research design was a survey of Black enrollees on predominately white campuses in Alabama to ascertain the adequacy of special provisions on those campuses to meet the needs of black students. Discussions among project staff members lead to a modification of the original survey plan. In its final form the study was expanded to provide for a four way comparison of students by racial identity and by the predominate racial identity of the institutions attended. The study, in its final form, was designed to provide data on the following questions:

1. Is there a significant correlation between students' race and their perceptions of their college environment?

2. Are there significant differences in students' perceptions of their college environments in relation to the racial composition of that college student body?

The study was aimed at analyzing the relationships shown below:



The numbered arrows in the diagram above refer to the relationships as specified in the statements with the same numbers below:

1. Perceptions of Black enrollees on Black campuses vs. Black enrollees on White campuses.

2. Perceptions of White enrollees on White campuses vs. White enrollees on Black campuses.

3. Perceptions of Black enrollees on Black campuses vs. White enrollees on Black campuses.

4. Perceptions of Black enrollees on Black campuses vs. White enrollees on Black campuses.

5. Perceptions of Blacks on White campuses vs. Whites on White campuses.

6. Perceptions of Blacks on White campuses vs. Whites on Black campuses.

In addition to the relationships stated above, the study also sought to provide the following data:

1. A measure of the overall perceptions of students on both type campuses, irrespective of the enrollees' race.

2. A measure of the overall preceptions of enrollees by race, irrespective of their campus racial composition.

Methodology - Data Collection

This study made use of the second edition of the College and University Environment Scale (CUES II), an instrument developed, standardized and distributed by Education Testing Service (ETS), Princeton, New Jersey.

The College and University Environment Scale was designed "to aid in defining the atmosphere or intellectual-social-cultural climate of the college as students see it." (CUES II Manual, 1969, p. 11). The instrument consists of 160 questions, 100 of which are used to yield seven scales useful in describing the college environment.

The scales are defined as follows:

Scale 1. Practicality - An environment characterized by enterprise, organizations, material benefits, and social activities. There are both vocational and collegiate emphases. A kind of orderly supervision is evident in the administration and the classwork. As in many organized societies there is also some personal benefit and prestige to be obtained by operating in the system-knowing the right people, being in the right clubs, becoming a leader, respecting one's superiors, and so forth. The environment, though structured, is not repressive because it responds to entrepreneurial activities and is generally characterized by good fun and school spirit.

Scale 2. Community - This scale describes a friendly, cohesive, group - oriented campus. There is a feeling of group welfare and group loyalty that encompasses the college as a whole. The atmosphere is congenial; the campus is a community. Faculty members know the students, are interested in their problems, and go out of their way to be helpful. Student life is characterized by togetherness and sharing rather than by privacy and cool detachment.

Scale 3. Awareness - Reflects a concern about and emphasis upon three sorts of meaning-personal, poetic, and political. An emphasis upon self-understanding, reflectiveness, and identity suggests the search for personal meaning. A wide range of opportunities for creative and appreciative relationships to painting, music drama, poetry, sculpture, architecture, and the like suggests the search for poetic meaining. A concern about events around the world, the welfare of mankind, and the present and future condition of man suggests the search for political meaning and idealistic commitment. What seems to be evident in this sort of environment is a stress on awareness, an awareness of self, of society, and of aesthetic stimuli. Along with this push toward expansion, and perphaps as a necessary condition for it, there is an encouragement of questioning and dissent and a tolerance of nonconformity and personal expressiveness.

Scale 4. Propriety - Describes an environment that is polite and considerate. Caution and thoughtfulness are evident. Group standards of decorum are important. There is an absence of demonstrative assertive, argumentative, risk-taking activities. In general, the campus atmosphere is mannerly, considerate, proper and conventional.

Scale 5. Scholarship - The items in this scale describe an environment characterized by intellectuality and scholasitc discipline. The emphasis is on competitively high academic achievement and a serious interest in scholarship. The pursuit of knowledge and theories, scientific or philosophical, is carried on rigorously and vigorously. Intellectual speculation, and interest in ideas, knowledge for its own sake, and intellectual discipline - all these are characteristics of the environment.

Scale 6. Campus Morale - The items in this scale describe an environment characterized by acceptance of social norms, group cohesiveness, friendly assimilation into campus life, and, at the same time, a commitment to intellectual pursuits and freedom of expression. Intellectual morals are exemplified and widely shared in an atmosphere of personal and social relationships that are both supportive and spirited.

Scale 7. Quality of Teaching and Faculty-Student Relationships - This scale defines an atmosphere in which professors are perceived to be scholarly, to set high standards, to be clear, adaptive; and flexible. At the same time, this academic quality of teaching infused with warmth, interest, and helpfulness toward students.

The Sample

Because this study was concerned with investigating the environmental climate of predominately Black and White campuses as perceived by students of both races, and effort was made to acquire representative samples of respondents of both races on both races on kinds of campuses. Table I provides information on the number and percent of subjects in the four groups by various classifications.

The size of the sample in subgroup 2 (white students on a predominately white campus) was not sufficiently large enough to be representative of that population. Data pertaining to this subgroup are included in the study despite its size limitations. However, separate analyses of the data which exclude this subgroup are almost presented to eliminate any bias which might be attributable to the size of subgroup two.

All other subgroups proved to be representative of their populations in terms of sample size as well as in terms of sex, educational status and the major fields included.

Table II presents data on the sample in combined groups according to students' race (groups 1 & 3 and 2 & 4) and according to the predominate racial character of the institutions (groups 1 & 2 and 2 & 4). Because of the size of the sample in group 2, blacks are over represented in the combined groups (1 & 2) and white students on black campuses carry a disproportinate influence in groups 2 & 4 combined. The reader is cautioned to keep these imbalances in mind when interpreting finding involving group two.

TABLE I

Number and Percent of Survey Subjects
By Subgroups and Other Classification Indices

CLASSIFICATION INDEX	Subgroup**1 N	%	Subgroup**2 N	%	Subgroup**3 N	%	Subgroup**4 N	%	TOTAL N	%
SEX										
Male	34	51.5	13	65.0	74	38.9	12	44.4	133	43.9
Female	32	48.5	7	35.0	116	61.1	15	55.6	170	56.1
EDUCATIONAL STATUS										
Entering Freshman	1	1.5	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	1	.3
Enrolled Freshman	26	40.0	5	22.7	33	17.3	6	22.2	70	23.0
Sophomore	11	16.9	7	31.8	39	20.4	2	7.4	59	19.3
Junior	10	15.4	6	27.2	54	28.3	8	29.6	78	25.6
Senior	13	20.0	4	18.1	52	27.2	4	14.8	73	23.9
Graduate	4	6.2	0	.0	13	6.8	3	11.1	20	6.6
Special or Non-Degree	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	4	14.8	4	1.3
MAJOR FIELD										
Biological Science	7	10.9	3	13.6	7	3.6	2	7.4	19	6.2
Physical Science	1	1.6	1	4.5	0	.0	0	.0	2	.7
Mathematics	2	3.1	0	.0	3	1.6	0	.0	5	1.6
Social Science	13	20.3	4	18.1	91	47.4	4	14.8	112	36.7
Humanities	2	3.1	0	.0	4	2.1	0	.0	6	2.0
Fine or Performing Arts	2	3.1	1	4.5	11	5.7	0	.0	14	4.6
Education	14	21.9	2	9.0	39	20.3	17	63.0	72	23.6
Business	11	17.2	3	13.6	21	10.9	2	7.4	37	12.1
Engineering	3	4.7	3	13.6	0	.0	0	.0	6	2.0
Other	9	14.1	5	22.7	16	8.3	2	7.4	32	10.5
TOTAL STUDENTS*	70	22.5	22	7.1	192	61.7	27	8.7	311	100.0

*Some sub-lasses of subjects may not show numbers equal to the total numbers because some students failed to supply information used in arriving at the various classifications.

**Subgroups defined: 1. Blacks on White Campus
2. Whites on White Campus
3. Blacks on Black Campus
4. Whites on Black Campus

TABLE II

Number and Percent of Survey Subjects
By Combined Subgroups and Other Classification Indices

CLASSIFICATION INDEX	Subgroups 1 & 2*		Subgroups 1 & 3*		Subgroups 2 & 4*		Subgroups 3 & 4*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
SEX								
Male	47	54.7	108	42.2	25	53.2	86	39.6
Female	39	45.3	148	57.8	22	46.8	131	60.4
EDUCATIONAL STATUS								
Entering Freshman	1	1.1	1	0.4	0	.0	0	.0
Enrolled Freshman	31	35.6	59	23.0	11	22.4	39	17.9
Sophomore	18	20.7	50	19.5	9	18.4	41	18.8
Junior	16	18.4	64	25.0	14	28.6	62	28.4
Senior	17	19.5	65	25.4	8	16.3	56	25.7
Graduate	4	4.6	17	6.6	3	6.1	16	7.3
Special or Non-Degree	0	.0	0	.0	4	8.2	4	1.8
MAJOR FIELD								
Biological Science	10	11.6	14	5.5	5	10.2	9	4.1
Physical Science	2	2.3	1	0.4	1	2.0	0	.0
Mathematics	2	2.3	5	2.0	0	.0	3	1.4
Social Science	17	19.8	104	40.6	8	16.3	95	43.4
Humanities	2	2.3	6	2.3	0	.0	4	1.8
Fine or Performing Arts	3	3.5	13	5.1	1	2.0	11	5.0
Education	16	18.6	53	20.7	19	38.8	56	25.6
Business	14	16.3	32	12.5	5	10.2	23	10.5
Engineering	6	7.0	3	1.2	3	6.1	0	.0
Other	14	16.3	25	9.8	7	14.3	18	8.2
TOTAL	92	29.6	262	84.2	49	15.8	219	70.4

*Subgroups 1 & 2 (Students on White Campus)
*Subgroups 3 & 4 (Students on Black Campus)
*Subgroups 1 & 3 (Black Students)
*Subgroups 2 & 4 (White Students)

Methodology

Various statistical techniques were used to determine whether or not any differences appearing between student groups or between institutions were due to chance. A 95% confidence level was adopted for making all comparisons. That is, if a difference of a given size would have occurred by chance more than 5 percent of the time, then that difference was considered to be insignificant and the report would state that no difference between groups was found.

Finding

Tables III through IX present summary data and the results of the analysis of variance for the four subgroups on seven scales. Comparisons among all four subgroups produced significant difference on four of the seven scales (community, awareness, propriety, and campus morale).

Table IV (community scale) shows a significant difference at the .05 level between rows, that is between groups 1 & 3 and 2 & 4. This means that white students had significantly different perceptions of their campuses (the campuses were perceived to be friendly, cohesive, and group oriented) than did black students. The groups contributing most of these differences were group 1 (Blacks on White campus) with the lowest perception of community and group 4 (White on Black campus) with the highest perception of community.

Differences between rows (student by race) were also found on the awareness scale as shown in Table V. In this comparision the groups which differed most were two and three. White students on the the predominately white campus (group 2) perceived of their campus as reflecting a high degree of awareness. Black students on the black campus indicated the opposite reaction - a very low degree of awareness.

A significant difference between types of campuses was found in the comparison on the propriety scale. Table VI shows that the black campuses were perceived by both black and white students as being high in propriety (a campus which is perceived to be mannerly, considerate, proper and conventional). Students attending predominately white institutions perceived of their campuses as being lower in group standards of decorum and being characterized by demonstrative, argumentative, risk-taking activities.

The final scale on which a significant difference was found was that on campus morale. The results of the comparisions are shown in Table VIII. Once again the difference found was between students' perceptions by racial backgrounds. In this case, black students perceived of the campus situation as being significantly lower in morale than perceived by white students. As was the case in other comparisons with significant difference between rows, the type of institution attended (as evidenced by the predominate racial character of the campus) was of no influence on the perception of the respondents. The racial background of the students was the factor significantly related to their perceptions.

In this set of comparisons involving all four subgroups, no difference were found between groups on the scales of practicality, scholarship or quality of teaching. Of the comparisons in which the differences did exceed the

.05 significance level, three between rows (students' race) and one was between institutional types. This would indicate that the perception of our subjects showed a greater relationship to their racial identity than to the type of racial composition of the institution attended.

TABLE III

Summary Data and Analysis of Variance For the Practically Scale

Groups	No.		Group Mean	Group Standard Deviation
One	70		56.95	19.90
Two	22		57.69	22.92
Three	192		61.70	18.81
Four	27		59.27	22.94
Total	311	Grand Mean	58.90	

Sources of Variance	df.	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between Rows	1	14.20	14.20	0.23
Between Columns	1	200.03	200.03	0.42
Interaction	1	50.09	50.09	0.11
Within Cells	76	36,029.60	50.09	0.11
Total	79	36,293.91		

TABLE IV

Summary of Data and Analysis of Variance For the Community Scale

Groups	No.		Group Mean	Group Standard Deviation
One	70		48.39	19.45
Two	22		58.36	26.21
Three	192		53.77	18.10
Four	27		64.46	19.66
Total	311	Grand Mean	56.24	

Sources of Variance	df.	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between Rows	1	2,135.11	2,135.11	4.56*
Between Columns	1	658.38	658.38	1.41
Interaction	1	2.56	2.56	0.01
Within Cells	76	35,593.87		
Total	79	38,390.02		

* .05 Significance Level

TABLE V

Summary Data and Analysis of Variance For the Awareness Scale

Groups	No.		Group Mean	Group Standard Deviation
One	70		52.17	14.43
Two	22		60.81	20.05
Three	192		45.49	14.43
Four	27		53.71	16.07
Total	311	Grand Mean	53.04	

Sources of Variance	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between Rows	1	1,420.46	1,420.46	5.00*
Between Columns	1	950.13	950.13	3.35
Interaction	1	0.90	0.90	0.00
Within Cells	76	21,573.33	283.86	0.00
Total	79	23,944.82		

* .05 Significance Level

TABLE VI

Summary Data and Analysis of Variance For the Propriety Scale

Groups	No.		Group Mean	Group Standard Deviation
One	70		41.02	15.42
Two	22		35.42	21.75
Three	192		52.58	16.31
Four	27		54.96	20.27
Total	311	Grand Mean	45.96	

Sources of Variance	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between Rows	1	52.00	52.00	0.14
Between Columns	1	4,834.50	4,834.50	13.24***
Interaction	1	318.80	318.80	0.87
Within Cells	76	27,749.54	365.13	
Total	79	32,954.84		

*** .001 Significance Level

TABLE VII

Summary Data and Analysis of Variance For the Scholarship Scale

Groups	No.		Group Mean	Group Standard Deviation
One	70		58.16	15.34
Two	22		53.82	16.84
Three	192		55.68	15.05
Four	27		60.01	16.48
Total	311	Grand Mean	56.91	

Sources of Variance	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between Rows	1	0.00	0.00	0.00
Between Columns	1	68.64	68.64	0.26
Interaction	1	375.41	375.41	1.40
Within Cells	76	20,336.30	267.58	
Total	79	20,780.35		

TABLE VIII

Summary Data and Analysis of Variance For the Campus Morale Scale

Groups	No.		Group Mean	Group Standard Deviation
One	70		50.36	17.25
Two	22		56.98	18.78
Three	192		48.05	14.66
Four	27		63.15	14.47
Total	311	Grand Mean	55.38	

Sources of Variance	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between Rows	1	2,475.10	2,475.10	8.80**
Between Columns	1	62.06	62.06	0.22
Interaction	1	442.36	442.36	1.57
Within Cells	84	23,635.58	281.38	
Total	87	26,615.09		

** .01 Significance Level

TABLE IX

Summary Data and Analysis of Variance
For the Teaching Quality Scale

Groups	No.	Group Mean	Group Standard Deviation
One	70	54.24	16.89
Two	22	59.45	17.28
Three	192	50.75	16.45
Four	27	67.35	19.21
Total	311	Grand Mean 57.93	

Sources of Variance	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between Rows	1	14.20	14.20	3.89
Between Columns	1	200.03	200.03	0.16
Interaction	1	50.03	50.08	1.06
Within Cells	40	36,029.60	474.07	
Total	43	36,293.91		

Because of concern with the sample size of subgroup two (white on white campus), additional analyses of variance were computed omitting that group. The results of those computations are presented in Tables X through XVI. Significant differences were found between three groups in the following scales and tables:

a. Community - Tables XI
b. Propriety - Tables XIII
c. Campus Morale - Tables XV

F - Ratio produced in all other comparisons failed to reach the 95 percent confidence limit, indicating no difference among groups on the other scales.

It was noteworthy that the scales on which differences were found were the same for groups 1, 3, & 4 as they were when all four groups were compared, except that in the four group comparison a significant difference was also found among groups on the awareness scale, while in the three group comparison, the quality of teaching scale produced a difference.

TABLE X

Summary Data and Analysis
of Variance For the Practicality Scale

Groups	No.	Group Mean	Group Variance	Group Standard Deviation
One	70	56.95	416.89	20.42
Three	192	61.70	372.49	19.30
Four	27	59.27	533.83	23.53
Total	289	Grand Mean 59.31		

Sources of Variance	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between	2	225.19	112.59	0.25
Within	57	25,521.04	447.74	
Total	59	25,746.23		

TABLE XI

Summary Data and Analysis of Variance
For the Community Scale

Groups	No.	Group Mean	Group Variance	Group Standard Deviation
One	70	48.39	398.23	19.96
Three	192	53.77	344.73	18.57
Four	27	64.46	407.03	20.18
Total	289	Grand Mean 55.54		

Sources of Variance	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between	2	2,676.44	1,338.22	3.49*
Within	57	21,849.86	383.33	
Total	59	24,526.30		

* .05 Significance Level

TABLE XII

Summary Data and Analysis of Variance
For the Awareness Scale

Groups	No.	Group Mean	Group Variance	Group Standard Deviation
One	70	52.17	219.28	14.81
Three	192	45.49	219.18	14.80
Four	27	53.71	271.98	16.49
Total	289	Grand Mean 50.46		

Sources of Variance	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between	2	763.10	381.55	1.61
Within	57	13,498.23	236.81	
Total	59	14,261.33		

TABLE XIII

Summary Data and Analysis of Variance
For the Propriety Scale

Groups	No.	Group Mean	Group Variance	Group Standard Deviation
One	70	41.02	250.27	15.82
Three	192	52.58	279.98	16.73
Four	27	54.96	432.42	20.79
Total	289	Grand Mean 49.52		

Sources of Variance	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between	2	2,222.44	1,111.22	3.46*
Within	57	18,290.72	320.89	
Total	59	20,513.16		

* .05 Significance Level

TABLE XIV

Summary Data and Analysis of Variance
For the Scholarship Scale

Groups	No.	Group Mean	Group Variance	Group Standard Deviation
One	70	58.16	247.72	15.74
Three	192	55.68	238.38	15.44
Four	27	60.01	285.81	16.91
Total	289	Grand Mean 57.95		

Sources of Variance	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between	2	181.81	94.41	0.37
Within	57	14,666.46	257.31	
Total	59	14,855.27		

TABLE XV

Summary Data and Analysis of Variance
For the Campus Morale Scale

Groups	No.	Group Mean	Group Variance	Group Standard Deviation
One	70	50.86	311.66	17.65
Three	192	48.05	225.06	15.00
Four	27	63.15	219.36	14.81
Total	289	Grand Mean 54.02		

Sources of Variance	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between	2	2,834.74	1,417.37	5.36**
Within	63	15,877.26	252.02	

** .01 Significance Level

TABLE XVI

Summary Data and Analysis of Variance
For the Quality of Teaching Scale

Groups	No.	Group Mean	Group Variance	Group Standard Deviation
One	70	54.24	313.79	17.71
Three	192	50.75	297.84	17.26
Four	27	67.35	405.87	20.15
Total	289	Grand Mean 57.45		

Sources of Variance	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F - Ratio
Between	2	1,685.82	842.91	3.49*
Within	30	10,174.90	339.16	
Total	32	11,860.72		

* .05 Significance Level

The Tukey method of multiple comparisons among sample means was employed to isolate pairs of means which differed significantly from one another. Again, because of the limitation of sample size in group two, that group was excluded from these comparisons. Those contrasts which proved to be significant, and thus to contribute to the significance of the F-ratio are shown in Tables XVII, XVIII, XIX and XX.

Contrasts between sample means on the community, propriety, campus morale and quality of teaching scales proved to be significant at or beyond the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE XVII

Contrasts Between Sample Means on the Community Scale

Contrasts	Absolute Difference		$\sqrt{MSw/n}$		q
$\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_3$	5.38	/	4.47	=	1.20
$\bar{X} - \bar{X}_3$	16.07	/	4.47	=	3.59*
$\bar{X}_3 - \bar{X}_1$	10.69	/	4.47	=	2.39

* .05 Level of Significance

On the community scale, a significance difference was found between the means of group one and group four only. This signifies that white students on black campuses perceived greater evidence of friendliness, group loyalty, and concern for group welfare on black campuses than blacks experienced on white campuses.

TABLE XVIII

Contrasts Between Sample Means on the Propriety Scale

Contrasts	Absolute Difference		$\overline{MSw/n}$		q
$\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_3$	11.56	/	4.47		2.58
$\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_4$	13.94	/	4.47		3.12*
$\bar{X}_3 - \bar{X}_4$	2.38	/	4.47		0.53

* .05 Level of Significance

As in the previous comparison, the groups producing the significant mean differences were one and four. Again, the white students on black campuses (group 4) found a campus atmosphere what was mannerly, considerate, proper and conventional in contrast to blacks on the white campus who perceived less propriety and more evidence of demonstrative, assertive, argumentative, risk-taking activity on campus. There were no differences between groups 1 & 3 or between groups 3 & 4.

TABLE XIX

Contrasts Between Sample Means on the Campus Morale Scale

Contrasts	Absolute Difference		$\overline{MSw/n}$		q
$\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_3$	2.81	/	4.69	=	0.60
$\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_4$	12.29	/	4.69	=	2.62
$\bar{X}_3 - \bar{X}_4$	15.10	/	4.69	=	3.22*

* 0.5 Level of Significance

The significant mean contrast on the campus morale scale was found to exist between groups 3 & 4 (black and white students on the black campus). White students tended to rank the black campus higher on morale than did their black counterparts on campus.

TABLE XX

Contrast Between Sample Means on the Quality of Teaching Scale

Contrasts	Absolute Difference		$\overline{MSw/n}$		q
$\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_3$	3.49	/	3.32	=	1.05
$\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_4$	13.11	/	3.32	=	3.95*
$\bar{X}_3 - \bar{X}_4$	16.90	/	3.32	=	5.01**

* .05
** .01 Level of Significance

In this group of contrasts, group four (whites on the black campus) differs significantly from both group one and group three. Both groups 1 & 3 are black students. Whites rated the quality of teaching and faculty/student relationships on the black campus higher than did blacks on either type campus. This was another example of a difference of perception which was more closely related to the respondents' race than to the type of school attended.

Summary and Conclusions

This study has been concerned with ascertaining the existence of perceptual differences based on the racial identity of students attending predominately black and white institutions of higher education in the State of Alabama. The results of the study suggest several interracial and interinstitutional differences in perception as measured by CUES II. National percentile and group mean and standard deviations are shown in Table XXI and Figure One.

TABLE XXI

National Percentile Equivalents of Group Scale Scores on CUES II

Scales		Group One	Group Two	Group Three	Group Four
Scholarship		59	42	52	65
Awareness		55	76	45	50
Community		24	45	55	80
Propriety		45	30	79	85
Practicality		80	78	90	90
Morale		50	40	20	81
Teaching Quality		55	45	99	99
Totals	$zX =$	368	356	440	550
	$\bar{X} =$	52.57	50.86	62.86	78.57
	$S =$	15.52	17.19	25.74	15.11

No differences were found between racial groups or between types of institutions on those campus characteristics identified by the practicality, or scholarship scales. Although comparisons involving all four student groups suggested significant differences between the races on the awareness scale, subsequent comparisons excluding group two (due to sample size) failed to confirm this difference. One is forced to conclude then that for these three scales (practicality, awareness, and scholarship) students nor campuses showed real differences.

Four scales (propriety, community, quality of teaching, and campus morale) did show significant differences through analysis of variance and/or in Tukey method multiple comparisons of sample means.

Group four (whites on the black campus) was involved in all of the comparisons which produced significant differences. For the community and propriety scales, groups four and one accounted for the differences. Group one (blacks on the white campus) described its campuses as possessing less of the positive qualities associated with these scales than was reported by group four.

Group four contrasted with group three (blacks on the black campus) on the campus morale scale. That is, white students on the black campus perceived the existence of higher morale on campus than did black students on the same campuses.

Finally, white students on black campuses ranked the black campus significantly higher in teaching quality than did black students on either type campus.

The findings of this study may be summarized as follows:

1. Two scales (community and propriety) show differences in campus types, with black campuses being ranked higher than white campuses by students of both races.

2. Two scales (campus morale and quality of teaching) showed differences in racial perceptions. White students ranked the black campus significantly higher on these scales than black students ranked either type campus.

3. <u>On all four scales where differences were found those differences favored the black campuses</u>.

A STUDY OF "WHITE" TEACHERS IN SELECTED "NEGRO" COLLEGES

Paul M. Decker

Many of the colleges through the county, which have been known traditionally as Negro colleges, are today opening their doors to white students. Also in many of these colleges are interracial faculties. A systematic study of white teachers and their experiences in Negro colleges might help allay some of the fears of tragic consequences which certain politicians would have us believe are inherent in processes of integration.

In a study of fifty-five Negro colleges in twenty states there were about three thousand-six hundred teachers. Of these 290 or 8 percent were non-Negro. Several of the colleges studied would not submit names of their white teachers on the basis that they were "at the moment trying to keep any consciousness of race distinction reduced to a minimum." Although this might appear to be a "burying of the head in the sand," yet this same feeling was the chief theme of the white respondents. Ninety-five percent of white teachers, stressed again again and again that the greater the contact with Negro colleagues and students the less consciousness there was of any color lines.

Sixty-seven percent of the fifty-five colleges studied had interracial faculties while eighteen of the schools had no white faculty members. Several in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia said they were continuing to abide by state laws until the Supreme Court indicated that white students and teachers could be admitted. Howard University in Washington, D.C. said that about ninety of their 450 instructors are non-Negro. Fisk University at Nashville and Lincoln University in Pennsylvania indicated that their faculties of approximately forty members each are about equally divided. At St. Louis, Missouri the Negro Harriet Beecher Stowe Teacher's College and the white Harris Teacher's College were consolidated in September, 1954 and now have a faculty of twenty-two Negro and forty-four white instructors. However, on the average, 14 percent of the teachers on bi-racial faculties are non-Negro and the median number of white teachers on the bi-racial studied is three.

Questionnaires were submitted to 147 white teachers in Negro colleges. Fifty-four of these were returned from twenty colleges in ten states. The questionnaire was intended to disclose some personal factors concerning the respondents, and to examine their reasons for seeking employment in Negro colleges. It dealt with social relationships of the white teacher on the Negro campus, and explored their opinions concerning contempory problems in Negro-white relations.

Sixty percent of the respondents have earned a doctor's degree and 30 percent a master's. More teach English, religion, and foreign languages than any other subjects. The median age of the respondents was forty-three. About 25 percent were born in or near New York, a similar number were foreign born and 10 percent were born in the South.

About 40 percent of the teachers had no particular reason for working in a Negro college. As a whole their attitude indicated that "color" as such

had no particular meaning to them. Twenty percent were working in Negro colleges because of an interest in race relations, 6 percent had been appointed to their jobs and another 6 percent mentioned missionary type motives. About 8 percent were convinced that exceptional personal and professional opportunities were present and one gentlemen wished to prove to himself that "my democratic attitudes are not mere parlor talk."

The median number of years of residence in the South for the group was found to be six. They had taught in Negro colleges on an average of two and one-half years, and about 75 percent had taught formerly in white schools.

A teacher once said that "Deans speak only to one another and to God." Many recent articles have indicated that Presidents of colleges too, are becoming less and less democratic. One of the respondents in this study said that rapport between all teachers and administrators everywhere was never better than fair. However, since 80 percent of the reporting group indicated good rapport between white teachers and Negro administrators, there is some reason to believe that dominant minority conditioning might in some way influence these relationships. On the other hand, it might be possible too, that most of us are conditioned, not to criticize our "boss in writing."

Although there is no doubt that personalities play the most important part in most relationships, student-teacher relationships are highly controlled by administrative and community mores. Each campus will have its own peculiar degree of social distance maintained in teacher-student relationships. One respondent, for example, replies, "Any type of social relationship between teacher and student is highly discouraged on this campus." From another campus a teacher says,, "Students here are rigidly restricted and few social relationships are possible."

On the whole, however, practically all teachers reported good rapport between white teachers and Negro students. Between forty and fifty percent definitely said that students came to their homes for social events, while ten to fifteen percent stated "not."

The three main points that developed from analysis of the material concerning teacher-student relationships were these:

1. Teachers do not think of their students as Negro students any more than teachers in other colleges think of their students as white students. Any relationship which exists, has nothing whatever to do with color.

2. Relationships with students are "particularly close and rewarding." This is a gay, tolerant unaggressive group.

3. Teachers on the whole realize that Negro students come to college with poor academic preparation. Great patience must be the keyword.

Only two of the white teacher group differed radically concerning the above ideas and they were vociferous in their response. Said one:

"The student body seems to be indifferent or apathetic towards their own part as responsible, mature persons in fighting their social problems. Intellectual curiosity, self drive, and independent work and thought are conspicuous by their absence."

The other dissenting voice said:

"With few exceptions, I have been unable to make the easy natural contacts to which I had been accustomed with white students. Too many expect special concessions made because they are coloured."

One teacher said he hoped his students "would forget that his skin was white." Another said that the white teacher, in many cases, is the first white person who has considered a student as an individual rather than as a racial subject and that a stable white teacher will thus help equip Negro youth with tools with which to overcome bitter and resentful feelings. Mixed faculties were declared desirable on the basis that they would give the Negro student a chance to learn that white people are humans too and not just sources of supply or potential enemies.

All but 5 percent of the white teachers in the study claimed "good rapport" with their Negro colleagues. Here again, the most important point stressed by the majority of respondents was that "friendships are based on common likes and dislikes, and not on the color of the skin." Social relationships are just as free and cordial as those involving white colleagues," says another. On one campus there is only one white teacher; he is single and lonely, a marginal man. Confined to the campus, with no friends in the white community and unable to integrate completely in the Negro community, he feels that he is in a "strange no-man's land." He wishes the administration would help him make some kind of adjustment.

"No two campuses are alike," says one respondent, "All relationships may be poor, regardless of race. Also they may change from year to year." In fact, different people on the same campus may see things in an entirely different light; for instance, one teacher states; "Social relationships are conspicuous by their absence another teacher says: "Most white and negro faculty members live on the campus. They mingle with ease, visit, and have social affairs in each other's homes. Rarely do cliques form, on the basis of color alone."

A few teachers claim that faculties in general are not much at socializing, a few more feel that their living quarters are not equipped for entertaining, but about 70 percent of the respondents report "frequent and enjoyable interracial social gatherings." One lives on a farm and has week-end parties, another is associated with both a negro and white college, and members of both faculties frequently meet in his home.

One Mississippi and one Georgia respondent say that custom limits negro-white relationships to "on campus" activities. A female teacher says she is "stared at" if she appears in the downtown area in mixed race company, especially if the friend is of the opposite sex. Another says that when gatherings take place in her home, it is at night; "and you can't tell color at night."

One white teacher was elected president of the faculty club of the Negro college. In another school a white dean is one of the best liked men in the college. So again we find the trend that the type of social relationships which develop are due primarily to personalities and interests rather than on a basis of color.

Sixty-four percent of the white teachers of this study live in a negro community, six of whom live off campus. The other 36 percent live in white communities. Of the 30 percent of the respondents who have children over two-thirds say that their children are active in negro play groups. About one-half of the group have no children and the other 20 percent state that their children are too young or too old for play groups.

About 30 percent of the white teachers report that they attend a negro church regularly. Twelve percent attend sometimes and another 12 percent attend an interracial church on the campus. One respondent attends a Jewish church and another an integrated Catholic Church.

Concerning reactions of friends, relatives, a neighbors, to the white teacher working in a negro college, 28 percent reported favorable reactions bordering on enthusiasm. About 15 percent said the condition had been "accepted," friends of 12 percent were "apprehensive," a few more curious, and a few more were overtly "unfavorable." Some friends who were unfavorable at first changed their opinions after visiting the teacher "at home on the campus."

One mother-in-law feels that her daughter is making a social sacrifice. One respondent says that "Some of the radical and wealthier elements in the white section of town think I am doing society a disservice." Another says, "Friends of a friend of mine insisted that I move out of such a neighborhood before they would visit me. I still live on campus."

One teacher says that "Real friends are welcome in his parent's home at anytime." Another says that his white friends in some cases are patronizing toward his negro friends in his behalf. Some deep South friends appear ashamed to be associated with elements of high prejudice.

One respondent has been active in the Masons, and President of the local Lion's Club. Another, even though living in a highly prejudiced area, has frequently been invited to the home of the mayor to discuss race relations and college problems.

Reespondents indicate that in the twenty colleges studied six had admitted white students. Bethune-Cookman College at Daytona Beach, Florida graduated its first white student in the summer of 1954. This student states in part:

> "After a short orientation period, I was not conscious of color. Friendships were based upon interests and personality factors. Aside from social pressures to the contrary, there are many Negros who I would prefer to entertain in my home for example, than many of the white people I know. Just as in any other group, there are those who do not appeal to us and those who do.

> Concerning scholarship, although the physical facilities of the college may not be as great as at some of the wealthier schools, it is still up to the student just how much he will gain from any college course."

One teacher says, "I believe the presence of white students would be a motivating force for negroes in negro colleges, and thus highly desirable." Also it would help break down stereotypes and "imagined difference would disappear." A poll of negro students in North Carolina showed that the vast majority were in favor of accepting white students. Only students with a superior or paternal attitude, or those coming for adventure or as an experiment would not be welcomed. One teacher offers a "backhanded" recommendation for integration:

> "As a whole I don't think that the negro wants integration, since he is perfectly well aware of his shortcomings and fears white competition. But by forcing or permitting him to study with white students he will have to make a much greater effort and indirectly achieve the equality that he seeks. Thus he will no longer be able to hide behind the word "discrimination" as an excuse for inefficiency on his own part."

The consensus seemed to be that "anyone should be allowed to go to any college. Integration from both directions is necessary." Most respondents feel that as integration progresses, negro colleges as such will disappear, and that those remaining will be completely integrated. Hopes are that the term negro college, as such, will be dropped. Several teachers predicted that "in five to ten years, there will be no colleges with all Negro students." Another says, "In our lifetime we will probably see few white teachers or students in negro colleges."

All kinds of opinions were offfered. One said "Negro colleges must continue to facilitate students who have poor elementary and secondary backgrounds." Another says, "Some may close but Negroes seem to prefer Negro schools." Another feels that they are an indispensable force in Southern education to form a corps of personnel to help make integration work. Some say they must raise their standards to attract white students. And many say that unless standards are raised there will be no more negro colleges.

Leaders in many negro colleges appear however not to be worried and several have announced immediate expansion programs to cost millions of dollars. The nations at large and the South in particular does not have sufficient facilities to take care of students now enrolled or seeking admission. If this be true, then it is reasonable to expect that a substantial expansion of facilities and personnel will be required to meet even a small part of the potential doubled college enrollment predicted by the President's Commission of Higher Education for 1960.

This study has offered the reader data concerning the number of white teachers on negro campuses. It has indicated the type of social relationships which exist and has probed the opinions and attitudes of the respondents. It has shown a picture, through the eyes of "white folks" which is seldom seen or understood in the United States and especially in the South. It has shown how some of our better educated people in America feel about race relations and integration after years of actual on the spot experience.

WHEN THE GROUP TAKES OVER: PATTERNS OF ADAPTATION BY WHITE CHILDREN TO MINORITY SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC STATUS

Barbara Libarkin

Because group social life and the identification of those persons who are to be excluded grows in importance thoughtout adolescence, we might reasonably expect white minority college students at historically black schools to have experiences similar to those of the younger white children in the community I studied. Group identification will cause a dilemma for white students who, without strong ethnic identity, find themselves in historically black college settings where being white is not highly valued. The most successful white student adaptation would appear to take place if the individual student balances recognition of minority racial status with recognition of minority racial status with recognition that every conflict confronted in a traditionally black setting is not racial. Patterns which emerge in post-adolescence may be quite different, especially in professional and graduate schools where mastery of academic material has a mitigating effect on the importance of social life.

During the summer of 1975, I studied how white children feel about and deal with blacks when they attend an eighty percent black elementary school and/or live in a fifty percent black community.[1]

The purpose of this paper is twofold: to discuss the findings on the adaptation of younger white children to minority status in a way which might suggest variables for the study of older white students and to specualte on the probable adaptation of the children I studied to life at a historically black college or university.

The Community

The community studied, one census tract, is a prosperous area of single family homes in Washington, D.C. Median annual income was over $21,000 in 1970, with no significant difference in income between blacks and whites. Black median education, 15.9 years, was higher than that for whites. The neighborhood elementary school has been stable at about eighty percent black for more than five years.

The Sample

The entire white student population in grades three through six of the elementary school was studied except for a few children excluded because they lived out side the community. White children whose family identification is black were also excluded.

The entire population of white children in grades three through six who attend private school was sought for the second sample. There was no way, short of a census, to be sure everyone had been included. However, to date, only one child has been identified who was not contacted. Of the private school sample, the parents of at least twelve children refused to participate, making this group a biased sample.

Differences in participation are probably due to the fact that the public school children must daily deal with minority status while the private school children in schools sixty to one hundred percent white can avoid minority status entirely if they so choose.

Nine families had children who attend almost totally black junior and senior high schools. This data is reported here for the first time, as it highlights the adaptations of older children. This data is only suggestive as the children attended schools in different places, at different times and with differing racial compositions. Some of the children were in schools with a less than one percent white minority.

Attitudes Toward Blacks[2]

Blacks are good friends, teachers, neighbors, hard workers, intelligent, deserving of college education and election to the Presidency according to the children. There was no statistically significant difference between the two groups, nor was there a change in attitude with age.[3] Half of the children expressed a willingness to marry blacks when they reached adulthood.

In the context of generally positive attitudes, girls were more positive than boys, especially the private school group. While there was no correlation between sex and number of black playmate choices in the public school group,[4] there was a substantial correlation between sex and race of playmate choice in the private school group ($r=.42$, $p=.004$).

Thus, in one community in which most families were attracted to it by its interracial character and in which blacks and whites are of similar social class white children think well of blacks.

Racial Labeling

Some of the children were unclear as to the race of their playmates. Because I knew the children named, several 'errors' in labeling were discovered, including brown skinned children called white. Color words were used in their descriptive, not emotional sense, and thus, fair children, though black by American standards, were called white.

Social Life

Most of the white public shcool children and some of the private school children spend a lot of time in the company of black children. There are many close friendships, including those in which the children eat and sleep together. While these individual friendships persist, around fourth grade, the white public school child's relationship to the group tends to change. He may simply be left out, be hit, called 'whitey' or 'honkey' or have an uncomfortable feeling of being different. Children vary greatly in their responses. Some handle their experience by trying to become as much like the black children as possible in speech, demeanor and attitude. Some experience typical minority feelings: Loss of self esteem, identity and a feeling of isolation. Some feel left out without any perception of racial division, while others feel persecuted for being white.

In preadolescence, the social group becomes very important. A significant part of group membership, especially at this age, is the ability to keep someone else out. The process is universal, grows in importance through adolescence and persists in abated form throughout life. The separations seem in this community are probably similar to those seen in other American communities with strong ethnic identifications. The dilemma for these white children is that being white is neither highly valued nor an ethnic identity to them. Being black is a powerful identity and a positive one for black children of successful parents. The most common way white children adapted to minority status was in the way they used speech.

Although most children, black and white, in the community can speak standard English, the children at play all 'sound' black. Bruce's family said, "If you closed your eyes, you wouldn't know (he is white)." Harriet's mother said, "If one is listening on the alley and Harriet's with a group of youngsters who are black by listening in term of pronunciation and tone and speech rhythms, it's not clear that there's white child present. Harriet has mimicked so finely that she can speak and walk black and be black." One mother thought she could tell the race of a caller by her daughter's speech. The pervasiveness of this mimickey of black culture varies from children who used black speech only at play to children who try to become black. Two families report that their children wish they were black.

Sidney and his siblings want to be close to the children at school and feel shut out because they are white. Sidney tried to turn his straight hair into an afro with the pick a friend loaned him for that purpose. Talking about her children's feelings, Sidney's mother said, "They'd rather be black."

Todd and Jane's family have noticed that "...there's been such a heavy influence of let's learn about black history; let's learn about black heroes; let's learn about all the good things that black folks have done that my kids have come home and said, "Gee, I wish I was black!" Now our kids identify all that's good with black and our kids are white."

Among the junior and senior high school students, this trend was reported to be even more pronounced. Amelia was one of six whites in her high school class about 350. She spoke 'fluent black' according to her parents. "There it was a matter of survival. If you wanted to be part of the group or were left out," her mother said. "I was very concerned about the discrimination that went on and it was just as vicious and just as bad as from the other end." "The assumption was that if a white girl dated black fellows, she was a postitute."

Amelia received obsecene phone calls and was taunted by the kids. She adapted by staying with a small group of friends. "Of course, the fact that it was a lousy school did not help either- a super lousy school." Amelia, now grown, has married one of her black high school teachers.

Melinie, the oldest of several sisters who attended an almost totally black high school, developed a strong black identification. She had no white friends in high school and assumed the musical and other tasteds of her black peers. She was concerned to attend a college with a large black population. She did so, but was rejected by the black kids there.

Seven families with junior and senior high school students in overwhelmingly black schools reported that their children spent their time relatively alone. Only one girl was describe as 'loner'. The others felt excluded or afraid. These children did not 'sound black'.

Some kids are fully aware of their use of speech. Several said they sound like the kids with whom they happen to be. Slang is a universal phenomenon which can build group identity and cohesion. Joe, a sixth grader, said that in fourth grade he tried to talk like the black children. "I don't any more. I figured if I talked like one of them, they'd say, "He's one of us; he's a real cool kid.' Now I say the heck with it. If they don't like me now, there's no sense putting on a masquerade for them. I found out in fifth grade they started resenting it. I'm me now instead of something else, whatever it is." Joe is well liked and popular with his black classmates.

Many parents report that children sound black only at play. Many children are reported to assume 'black' body movements, especially the manner of dancing and the loose gaited walk of black teen aged boys. In Melissa's family, five siblings have experienced public school minority status with varying degrees of identification with black culture. Their father speculated that "How pervasive is the change (to being like black peers) depends on the importance of peer group to that child and how great is the need to rebel or differentiate from the family."

At Black Colleges and Universities

The private school children may well be the ones most likely to choose to attend historically black schools. Their was the most positive experience in interracial living. Except for a family whose children had attended public schools, only one family reported that their children were frightened by blacks or had consistently poor relationshps with black children. The private school children rarely experienced minority status and showed few adaptations to black culture. Those private school children who had close black friends generally choose them from black children who attended their school or lived nearby. In some cases, relationships are extremely close. Michell's family said, "The relationships with the kids across the street is so close that the households are interchangeable. It could be a common house." These children, if their experiences do not change, are mostly likely to have an idealized view of relations between the races. Because they lack minority experiences and adaptations to it, they may be vulnerable when faced with pervasive minority status.

Negative Experiences

Those children with the most negative experiences would be unlikely to choose a black college or university. These children are almost all public school children. Sean, a quiet boy, has perceived blacks as tougher - different, since he was six. At eleven, he and his brother were captured by a group of black boys they knew and held against their will. Sean is afraid to leave his house.

Morton and his sister played amicably with the black children who lived nearby. As they grew older, they felt isolated and intimidated outside on the street because they are white.

Sam, like Morton, would like to be friends with black schoolmates and neighbors. He complained, "Most of my friends are white. None of them (black kids) ever want to be friends with me at school. I don't have many friends." He is beaten often, sometimes by girls. "Most of the "black" girls hate my guts." "I make a weak impression." He believes he is beaten because he is white and suffers when called 'whitey' or honky'.

Other white children, whatever their friendship patterns, feel isolated in the classroom, especially if they are the only white child. Claire, who plays almost exclusively with black children, was excluded and called racial names in fourth grade and her parents had to intervene. While Ira was in fourth grade, the class read a story about an Indian boy who rejected whites. As the only white boy in class, he felt everyone was staring at him. His mother noticed that when she helped in the classroom, the other boys didn't include him in their conservations and activities.

Edith, like Sam, passively suffered the taunts of her classmates and was often treated cruelly. But, many other children perceived racial names and fighting in a more neutral way. George said black kids call white kids 'honkey' because they are angry and it really is not a 'racial thing'. "They really are 'honkies', he said. The name doesn't bother him 'that much'. Kids won't play with him sometimes, he said, because they're that kind of person, not because he is white. Joe had a similar feeling. The kids call each other racial names. "But the blacks call the blacks 'nigger', It's not dirty anymore; it's just a greeting. Whites say it, blacks say its; everyone say it. I don't say it. They call the white kids nigger, too. They (black kids) like to cut down on each other I've found. They call your mother 'Oatmeal Eddie' and all this stuff. They insult your race and stuff. You don't really think of it 'cause' they're not really trying to hurry you. It's a game now." Joe is describing playing the dozens.

Some children report that they never hear racial name calling and that they perceive fighting as something that happen in a race free way.

Pupils Most Likely To Go To A Black College

Some of the white public school children who are skilled at 'acting black' may choose to attend traditionally black schools of higher learning. Because of their experience with blacks and their skill at mimicking speech and body movements common to many blacks and because some of them desire to be black, we may see some white students passing as blacks. The man, visible, white people of black ancestry makes this possible. These students should adapt to the social system of the school much as other black students do. As mentioned earlier, the private school students who have more limited and idealized experiences with blacks may be particularly vulnerable to isolation and loss of self esteem.

Among the several groups of white children I studied, the child who would probably be most successful in adapting to the cultural milieu of a traditionally black college would be the ones who have worked out strategies for coping with minority status and who do not view each conflict as racial, even if it is sometimes expressed in racial terms. These are the people who can freely choose a traditionally black school - all things being equal - if it offers the academic program that they want.

Those with the most positive opinion of blacks will be inclined to attend a black school. Among the children I studied, girls thought of blacks most favorably and, if their attitudes do not change, they will most likely be the ones to choose a black school. For some women, college is still seen as a place to find a suitable mate. These girls were much more willing than boys to marry a black person ($r=.424$, $p=.001$).

Few parents of third graders reported that their children experienced social divisions along racial lines. The separation in the community I studied coincided with preadolescence from fourth grade on. While close individual relationships persist, some white children feel isolated and experience loss of self esteem and sense of identity while in a minority, and as several junior and senior high school surveys suggests, this experience intensifies as the child moves progressively from one stage of adolescence to the next.

We might then reasonably expect white minority college students at a historically black school to have similar experiences to those I found as group social life is prominent throughout adolescence. However, in professional and graduate schools where mastery of academic material mitigates against the importance of social life, the patterns which emerge may be quite different.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Barbara Libarkin, Interracial Living and the Racial Attitudes of White Children in Grades 3 to 6: The White Child as a Minority in a Black School System (ERIC #ED 126-214, 1976).

[2]For more information on sampling, data collection, instruments and statistical analysis, see ibid.

[3]Findings are contrary to expectations in literature. See, for ex. Howard J. Ehrlich, The Social Psychology of Prejudice, (N.Y., John Wiley & Sons, 1973) pp. 114-121 and Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, (Cambridge, Mass., Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954). p. 31.

[4]In general, the literature shows white boys more willing to become like the ingroup when caught-up in minority situations. See Nancy St. John, School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children, (N.Y., John Wiley & Sons, 1975), p. 78.